

# ***The Armeno-Georgian Marchlands***

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**Maps** appear as an attachment to the present document.

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1. It is of importance for an appreciation of Caucasian history to examine the historical geography of the area where the Armenian and Iberian spheres of political and cultural influence overlapped, in other words, of the Armeno-Iberian marchlands. This area corresponds in part to the Georgian provinces of Upper Iberia or Meschia and of Lower Iberia. Before examining the geography of each of these provinces, a word needs to be said about the general configuration of the Georgian lands. The territory occupied by the Georgian people was for the first time united into one whole by the Bagratids in the eleventh century. And it was only after the unification that a new term came into being in order to designate that newly-formed whole: — Sak'art'velo or Georgia. The territory in question corresponded to the western and central sector — the larger part — of the latitudinal depression of the Caucasian or Ponto-Caspian Isthmus, which is bounded by the two seas, east and west, and by two parallel ranges stretching north-west to south-east: the Caucasus in the north and, in the south, the northern ridge of the Armenian Plateau which connects the Elburz chain with the Pontic Alps. The Little Caucasus, also called the Likhi-Ghado-Arsiani or Moschic (Surami) mountains, runs, curving, across the depression from about the middle of the Caucasus, in a south-westerly direction, to the Armenian highlands; and it divides the depression into two unequal parts: the relatively small basin of the Phasis or Rioni, which flows from the Caucasus, likewise south-westwards, to the Black Sea — about one-fifth of the entire territory, and the far larger basin of the Cyrus of Mtkvari (Kur), issuing from the Armenian highlands and flowing eastwards to the Caspian Sea — about four-fifth of that territory.

Held within the concavity of the semi-circular movement of the Little Caucasus, in the basin of the Phasis, lay the Pontic land which was successively called by the Georgians Egrisi, Ap'xazet'i, Imeret'i, and by the Classical and the Western world Colchis, Lazica, Abasgia and Imeretia. This is West Georgia *par excellence*. Separated from it by the Little Caucasus and situated in the central part of the depression of the Isthmus, which is at the same time the western part of the Cyrus basin, was East Georgia, known to the Georgians themselves as K'art'li and to the Classical world as Iberia or Hiberia. There was still another Georgian territory, which can be classed with either East or West Georgia. Due south of the latter and, therefore, geographically a part of western or Pontic Caucasia, it nevertheless from times immemorial formed one ethno-political whole with the former and was consequently known as Upper Iberia, and also as Meschia. It lay in the two valleys cut through the

north-western bastion of the Armenian Plateau by waterways that take their rise in it. One of these is the basin of the Acampsis (also: Apsorrhús or Apsarus) or Chorokhi, which runs first in a north-easterly, and then a northerly direction to the Black Sea, and of its tributaries; the other is the upper valley of the Cyrus, which, before turning sharply, east of the Little Caucasus, in the direction of the Caspian Sea, follows here, near its place of origin, a tortuous north-easterly course. The Arsiani range, continuing the Little Caucasus to the Armenian highlands, constitutes the watershed between the two valleys; while the Pontic Alps, following closely the line of the Euxine coast from the mouth of the Acampsis (which separates them from the Achara-Ghado branch of the Little Caucasus) well into Anatolia, prevent that river's basin from reaching the sea. Divided, like ancient Gaul, into three parts, Iberia comprised not only south-western Upper Iberia, but also cis-Cyran Lower Iberia and largely trans-Cyran Inner Iberia. Farther east, in the same Cyrus valley and oriented to the Caspian, lay Classical Albania, the Rani of the Georgians and Aġuank' of the Armenians. South of it and of Iberia, was Armenia. So much, then, for the configuration of the Georgian lands in general. That of the particular lands of Upper and Lower Iberia, as it was down to the time of the advent of the Bagratids, will now be examined.

2. The following lands of Upper Iberia<sup>1</sup> were situated in the basin of the Acampsis:

1. Achara, south of the Little Caucasus (the Achara range), between the Acampsis, in the west, and the Arsiani, in the east.<sup>2</sup>

2. Nigali or Ligani, south-west of Achara, on either bank of the river.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the entire province of Upper Iberia, see: Vaxušt, *Geogr. Descr.* 70-130; Javaxišvili, *K'art. er. ist.* II [hereinafter: Jav] 319-335; Gugushvili, *Division* [hereinafter: Gu] 62, 63-65, 66-67; Ingorogva, *Giorgi Merē'ule* [hereinafter: Ing] 296-399. — Upper Iberia = Zemo K'art'li; Meschia = Mesxet'i, *Μοσχικά ὄρη* (Ptolemy 5.12.4), *Μοσχική* (Strabo 11.2.18), *Μεσχία* (Cedrenus II 572). Forming, after the thirteenth century, the State of the Jaqeli princes of Samc'xe, who were invested with the office of Atabeg of Georgia, this province came to be denominated Samc'xe-Saat'abago. It is now divided between Turkey and the Soviet Union; accordingly, some of the toponyms have their Turkish parallels, e.g., Georg. Čoroxl = Turk. Çoruh. The territory of Upper Iberia covers some 21,000 sq. km.: cf. Ing. 297-299. Ing. gives 34,230 sq. km., but from this we must subtract the 13,690 sq. km. of the 'second zone' of Turkish occupation (cf. Ing. 299), which took place in the course of the sixteenth century and which contained lands included in the Georgian kingdom only in the Golden Age.

<sup>2</sup> Vax. 108-110; Jav. 326; Gu. 63-64; Ing. 300. Ačara = Turk. Acaristan; it is now an autonomous Soviet Republic, reaching to the sea. Here the Acampsis debouches into the Euxine and the port of Bathys or Bat'omi (Batumi) is situated.

<sup>3</sup> Vax. 74, 114; Jav. 327; Gu. 64; Ing. 300, 382-391; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 357, 359. Ni-

3. Shavshet'i east of Nigali and west of the Arsiani, bounded by Achara in the north.<sup>4</sup>

4. Cholarzene or Klarjet'i, traversed by the Acampsis, south of Shavshet'i and Nigali, stretching from the Arsiani mountains westwards, towards the Black Sea, and centred in the great fortress-city of Artanuji.<sup>5</sup>

5. Tao, south of Cholarzene, between the right bank of the Acampsis (here, in its middle course, called also Lycus or Baos) and the sources of the Cyrus; drained by the tributaries of the former, the T'ort'omi and the Glaucus or Olt'i; and containing strong places like P'anaskerti, Olt'isi, Kalmaksi. Tao was divided into Upper or Thither (south-western) and Lower or Hither (north-eastern).<sup>6</sup>

The following lands of Upper Iberia were situated in the basin of the Cyrus and traversed by it:

6. Samts'khe or Meschia, in the narrow sense, with its three great fortresses, of which Odzrkhe was the most important. It was bounded in the north-west by the Little Caucasus (the Ghado range) and by Inner and Lower Iberia in the north-east and east; its western neighbours were Achara and Shavshet'i.<sup>7</sup>

7. Javakhet'i, south and south-east of Samts'khe, reaching in the west the Arsiani mountains and in the east lake P'anavari and possessed of many strongholds, the chief of which was Tsunda. Its region west of the Cyrus was also named, after one of the fortresses, Frushet'i.<sup>8</sup>

8. Artani, south of western Javakhet'i, east of Arsiani, west of the lake Palakats'io region was divided into Upper and Lower Artani.<sup>9</sup>

gali, through a subsequent metathesis, Ligani, present-day Livana = Arm. Nigal. It is now the Artvin (= Georg. Art'vani) district of Turkey.

<sup>4</sup> Vax. 114; Jav. 326-327; Gu. 64; Ing. 302, 381-382; Hübschmann 355. Šavšet'i = Turk. Şavşat; it is now a part of Turkey.

<sup>5</sup> Vax. 72, 108-118; Jav. 328-331; Gu. 64; Ing. 302, 302-361, 361-380; Hübschmann 354-355. Klarjet'i = Arm. K'larjk'; it is now a part of the Artvin region of Turkey. Artanuji = Turk. Ardanuç.

<sup>6</sup> Vax. 118-120; Jav. 331-336; Gu. 64-65; Ing. 302, 382-391, 478-500; Hübschmann 276-278, 357-361. Tao = Arm. Tayk'. It is now a part of Turkey.

<sup>7</sup> Vax. 74-76, 82-96; Jav. 319-321; Gu. 65; Ing. 300, 392-393. Its name is basically the same as Mesxet'i: Allen *History* 17 and n. 3, 58. Samc'xe is Meschia in the narrow sense, while in Samc'xe-Saat'abago, Samc'xe is used in the broad sense. A part of this land, Georg. Poc'xovi = Turk. Posof is now Turkish territory.

<sup>8</sup> Vax. 96-104; Jav. 321-323; Gu. 65 and n. 2; Ing. 300, 392. — Vaxušt does not consider Erušet'i a part of Javaxet'i: Vax., *loc cit.* and 104. Georg. Javaxet'i = Arm. Jawaxk': Hübschmann 354. Lake P'aravani is now called Tap'aravani.

<sup>9</sup> Vax. 104-106; Jav. 324; Gu. 65; Ing. 300, 391-392. See *Hist. Five Reigns* 365. Artani, occasionally Artani = Arm. Artahan: Hübschmann 276-277, 354) = Turk. Ardahan.



9. Kola, where the Cyrus has its rise, bounding Artani in the south and reaching from lake Palakats'io in the east to Tao in the west.<sup>10</sup>

Lower Iberia<sup>11</sup> is likewise a part of the northern ridge of the Armenian Plateau as it slopes towards the Cyrus, though it does not reach it. It is traversed by several rivers, notably, by the K'ts'ia or Khrami, with its tributary the Mashaveri, joining the Cyrus at the eastern end of the region, its basin separated from the Cyrus's by the region's northern boundary, the T'rialet'i range; and by the Debeda or Berduji, with its tributary the Pambaki, divided from the K'ts'ia by the Somkhet'i mountains and flowing eastwards and then turning sharply in a north-north-easterly direction before joining the K'ts'ia. Lower Iberia contained the following lands:

1. T'rialet'i, in the upper valley of the K'ts'ia, north-east of Javakhet'i, between the T'rialet'i range, in the north, and the Mashaveri valley, in the south.<sup>12</sup>

2. Gach'iani, occupying the middle valley of the K'ts'ia and that of the Mashaveri (the Dbanis-valley), east of T'rialet'i and Javakhet'i and south of the Cyrus valley and Tiflis. Its great fortress was Orbet'i-Samshvilde, on the K'ts'ia.<sup>13</sup>

3. Gardabani, east of Gach'iani, in the lower valleys of the K'ts'ia and the Debeda, bounded by the Cyrus in the north-east and possessed of the city-fortress of Khunani on the last-named river.<sup>14</sup>

4. Tashiri, occupying the plain between the upper Debeda and the Pambaki, with the city of Lori, on the former river.<sup>15</sup>

5. Abots'i, between Tashiri in the east, Gach'iani in the north, and Javakhet'i and lake Palakats'io in the west.<sup>16</sup>

3. Most of these lands were, historically no less than geographically, Georgio-Armenian marches, and so a battlefield between the two neighbouring monarchies. The struggle over them is still going on — on the battlefield of historiography. And so it may be well to examine here the historical background

<sup>10</sup> Vax. 106-108; Jav. 324-325; Gu. 65; Ing 493-495. Kola = Arm. Kol; Hübschmann 276-277, 357. As Göle or Merdenik it is now a part of Turkey.

<sup>11</sup> For the entire province of Lower Iberia, see: Vax. 136-180; Jav. 282-295; Gu. 63; Ing. 451-543; Hübschmann 275-276, 353-357. Lower Iberia = K'vemo-K'art'li; Georg. Palakac'io = Turk. Çıldır.

<sup>12</sup> Vax. 156-160; Jav. 287; Gu. 63; T'rialet'i = Arm. T'relk': Hübschmann 354.

<sup>13</sup> Vax. 178-180; Jav. 287; Gu. 63.

<sup>14</sup> Vax. 168, 178; Jav. 286-287; Gu. 63.

<sup>15</sup> Vax., 148; Jav. 287; Gu. 63; Hübschmann 365. Tashiri = Arm. Tašir.

<sup>16</sup> Vax. 148-150; Jav. 287; Gu. 63, 66; Hübschmann 365. Aboc'i = Arm. Ašoc'; it was also called Palakac'io, later Qaiquli. It is now a part of Turkey.

of these marchlands. Ironically enough, the most ancient information regarding some of these lands belongs to a period prior to the formation of either the Armenian or the Georgian nation. Like them, the border territories in question go back to proto-Caucasian times.<sup>17</sup>

Urartian records contain frequent references to the border zone that is the object of our interest; and from among the numerous ethnica and toponyms they contain two names are definitely identifiable geographically and capable of being connected with names of later historical periods. They are Diauehi and Kařarza or Quturza, the first, an ethnonicon denoting a people ruled by several kings, and thus a federation, in the vicinity of lake Palakats'io and of the sources of the Cyrus, separating the Urartian State from that of the Qulhi, i.e., Colchis (West Georgia); the second, apparently a toponym, applied to an area next to the other.<sup>18</sup>

It appears fairly certain, and so indeed often accepted in modern historiography, that by 'Diauehi' the Urartian records referred to the same ethno-political group as the Assyrian records did by 'Daiaeni'.<sup>19</sup> On the other hand, Adontz considers them as distinct. He derives from the former the ethno-territorial term Javakhet'i/Javakhk' (Javaxet'i/Jawaxk'), found in the national Armeno-Georgian sources of late-Classical and early-mediaeval times;<sup>20</sup> while most specialists derive from the latter the ethno-territorial term *Táoχοι*/Tayk'/Tao of the Greek writers and Caucasian records, designating the people and land in the vicinity of Javakhet'i.<sup>21</sup> The two theories need not be regarded as mutually exclusive. The entire territory of the two lands may well have been occupied by the Daiaeni-Diauehi, either originally or only as a result of the Urartian pressure forcing them northwards. At a later time, this tribal federation may well have become divided into distinct groups, this being followed by differentiations of the original ethnonicon. The western group, preserving the form found in the Assyrian records, survived as *Táoχοι*-Tayk'-Tao; the eastern group, using the Urartian form of the original ethnonicon, survived as the people of Javakhet'i-Javakhk'. Next to the Diauehi lay, according to

<sup>17</sup> Cf. I § 4.

<sup>18</sup> Adontz, *Hist. d'Arm.* 202-203, 204, also 152, 161, 162, 167, 168, 185, 201-207, 219-220, 221, also 147, 166, 168, 204, 210, 211, 216, 219; Melik'iřvili, *Urart. nadpisi* 424, 432.

<sup>19</sup> Manandyan, *O nek. sporn. probl.* 18-19; Ľap'anc'yan, *Xajasa* 15-16; Melik'iřvili, *Urart. nadpisi* 424.

<sup>20</sup> Adontz, *Hist. d'Arm.* 207. Ľap'anc'yan, *Xajasa* 16 n. 1 (17) and Melik'iřvili, *Urart. nadpisi* 446, would, on the other hand, identify later Javaxet'i with Zabaha, which is mentioned, apparently, as neighbouring upon the Diauehi, in an inscription of King Argiřti of Urartu, for which, see Adontz' 161-162; Melik'iřvili 211/212.

<sup>21</sup> Xenophon, *Anab.* 4.7; *Táoι* in Steph. Byz. and, erroneously, *Xáoι* Diodorus Sic. 14.29. Cf. Manandyan, *op. cit.* 18-19, 75; Ľap'anc'yan *loc. cit.*; Melik'iřvili, *op. cit.* 424.

the Urartian documents, the land of Kaṭarza. And in subsequent times, as witness the Armeno-Georgian monuments, west of Javakheti<sup>22</sup>, and also north-west of Tayk<sup>23</sup>-Tao, there was situated the land of Klarjet<sup>24</sup> or Klarjk<sup>25</sup>. The identity is more than one of location, for, as Adontz has shown, the Armeno-Georgian term and its earlier forms *Χολαρζηνή*,<sup>22</sup> *Καταρζηνή*,<sup>23</sup> found in Classical writers, are derived from Kaṭarza or Quturza.<sup>24</sup>

The downfall of the Monarchy of Urartu (c. 612/585) brought about a period of chaos in Caucasia. It passed under the imperial control of the Medes and, then, the Achaemenids; but this did not prevent an inner struggle of old and new ethnic elements. Caucasia had, already from the eighth-seventh century, been the object of infiltration on the part of various ethnic streams. Several Anatolian peoples had been pushing towards the Isthmus; their mingling with the local proto-Caucasians was to give birth to the Georgian nation; and the

<sup>22</sup> Strabo 11.14.4 and 5. — The MS tradition has *Χορζηνή* and *Χορζονή* (emended by Xylander to *Χορζηνή*). That Klarjet<sup>24</sup>-i-Klarjk<sup>25</sup> is meant, is manifest from the context of both passages. The first passage shows 'Chorzene' and Cambysene (Georg. Kambeč[ov]ani = Arm. K'ambečan; cf. Vax. 110; Jav. 303; Allen, *History* 64; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 211) to be the northernmost provinces of Armenia, bordering (in the case of the latter) on the Caucasus mountains and (in the case of the former) on Iberia and Colchis: *ἡ δὲ Χορζηνή καὶ Καμβυσηνή προσβορῶνται εἰσι καὶ νιφόβολοι μάλιστα, συνάπτονται τοῖς Κανκασίοις ὄρεσι καὶ τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ καὶ τῇ Κολχίδι*. For the second passage, see *infra* n. 46. This form must be a contraction of *Χολαρζηνή*: Markwart, *Brānšahr* 116; *Südarmanien* 21\*-22\*; Hübschmann 211-213, 354; Adontz, *Hist. d'Arm.* 207-208; Baumgarten, 'Chorzene,' RE 3/2 2444. The contracted form in question bears resemblance to the name of a canton in western Armenia, due north of the princely State of Asthianene and called Xorjēn by the Armenians and *Χορζανή*, *Χορζιαννή* by the Byzantines: Koriwn 10.1 (29); Lazarus 10 (31); Procopius, *De aed.* 3.3.9; *Bell. pers.* 2. 24.14. Other forms are: Xorjank<sup>26</sup>, Xorcēnk<sup>27</sup>, Xorsen, *Κορτζηνή*: Honigmann, *Ostgrenze* 16, 19, 78 n. 12, 180, 181, 184, 195, 198-200, 202-205, 209, 210; Hübschmann 291. None of these forms is earlier than the fifth-sixth century. The near homonymy of the two toponyms may be a sheer coincidence. If it were known that the second toponym had existed at the time of Strabo, he might be suspected of having been influenced by it when recording the first one. Else — and this is most likely — a copyist may have been influenced by the later toponym.

<sup>23</sup> Ptolemy 5.12.4: *infra* n. 53.

<sup>24</sup> Adontz 207-208: 'Les deux formes [*Χολαρζηνή* and *Καταρζηνή*] sont correctes et reproduisent le nom urartien où le *ṣ* avait un son *tl* familier à la langue tcherkesse et qui peut se bifurquer en -*ṣ*, Kaṭarza et en -*l* Kalarza. On a donc ici le même phénomène phonétique que nous avons constaté en Kullimeri et Kutemr-an, provenant de Kutlimeri. Kaṭarza est le même nom de Quturza qui est mentionné avec Ultuza. Cela explique le vocalisme de l'arménien Kḷardj-k<sup>28</sup> de Kuḷardj-k<sup>29</sup>.' The genesis of the toponym appears thus to be: Kaṭarza (Katlarza) or Quturza > the original of *Χολαρζηνή* and *Καταρζηνή* > \*Kuḷarj-k<sup>30</sup> > Klarj-k<sup>31</sup> > Klarj-et<sup>32</sup>. On philological grounds, then, this province may be considered as having passed through an Armenian phase before becoming Georgianized. Ingoroqva 437, however, would derive Klarjet<sup>33</sup> from Kol-ar-j<Kol-xi.

first result of this fusion was the West Georgian kingdom of Colchis.<sup>25</sup> Simultaneously, some Indo-European Phrygian tribes penetrating Caucasia had fused with the proto-Caucasian people of Hayasa. A powerful new federation thus arose replacing, under Median overlordship, in the western territories of old Urartu, the defunct Vannic high-kingship. It was to this expanding new amalgam that the ethnicon 'Armenian' was first applied by the Greeks and the Iranians, and it was from its mingling with the rest of the Urartians that the Armenian nation was born.<sup>26</sup>

While the proto-Armenian, the still-Urartian, and some proto-Georgian territories were placed under Achaemenian satraps, other proto-Georgians, though included in the Iranian Monarchy, seem to have enjoyed the same conditions of vassal dependence as we know to have existed in the case of Colchis. This was indeed the situation observed by the Ten Thousand (401 B.C.) in connexion with the Taochians and the Chaldians. They were within the Empire, but outside the control of the nearest imperial officials, the Satrap of Armenia and the vice-Satrap of West Armenia.<sup>27</sup>

The collapse of the *pax achaemenia* and its replacement by the *pax macedonica* in the fourth century, prompted the rise of the second Georgian kingdom, that of East Georgian Iberia.<sup>28</sup> Combining its basic 'Iranianism,' acquired during the Achaemenian phase,<sup>29</sup> with Hellenism to which as a vassal of the Seleucid emperors<sup>30</sup> it was now exposed, the youthful Iberian Monarchy was organized on the Achaemenian-Seleucid pattern. Desirous to assert itself in the dynasticist milieu<sup>31</sup> from which it had just arisen, the Pharnabazid Dynasty of Iberia appears to have instituted the office of duke or *erist'av* patterned upon the Seleucid strategus and the Achaemenian satrap. The territory of the kingdom was accordingly divided into several duchies which were ruled by these officers of the Crown in the teeth of the local dynastic princes, recent compeers of the new High Kings of Iberia. The memory of these events has reached us in a comparatively late (eighth-century) literary monument, the *History of the Kings of Iberia* of Leontius of Ruisi, but its testimony has stood well the scrutiny of scholarship and can be given our credence.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>25</sup> See I § 4 at nn. 50-57.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* at nn. 48-49.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.* § 6. — Xenophon, *Anab.* 5.5.17, indeed refers to the Taochi and the 'Chaldaei' (more correctly, Chaldi: cf. I n. 52) as *βασιλέως οὐχ ὑπηκόους ὄντας*, but it is difficult to conceive that the Iranian government, which may well have been powerless to control them *de facto*, should have recognized their independence *de jure*.

<sup>28</sup> See I at n. 53 and § 10.

<sup>29</sup> For 'Iranianism,' see I § 6 at n. 67, § 10 (end).

<sup>30</sup> For Seleucid suzerainty: I n. 104.

<sup>31</sup> For 'dynasticism' in Caucasia, and in Georgia, see I § 2, 11.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. I § 10, *Introd.* at n. 50.

4. Leontius's account of the institution of the ducal order contains important evidence for the historical geography of the early Iberian Monarchy and especially — for us — of the borderland between it and its Armenian neighbour. The latter country had, likewise and at the same time as Iberia, evolved, under the leadership of the Orontid Dynasty, the house of the former Iranian Satraps of Armenia, into the First Armenian Monarchy, which was nearly coextensive with the old Urartian territory.<sup>33</sup> Before examining this text of Leontius, however, we must turn our attention to other passages in the same work. These contain an account of the mythical distribution of the Georgian tribal lands among the eponymous progeny of the divine and equally eponymous primogenitor of the nation, K'art'los. The latter's territory is described as follows:

[Text A]

in the east, Heret'i and the river Berduji; in the west, the Sea of Pontus; in the south, the mountain which reaches the source of Berduji River, which runs westwards, the waters of which go northwards to join the Cyrus, and which stretches, between Cholarzene and Tao, towards the sea; and in the north, the bounding Ghado, a little mountain which comes like a branch out of the side of the Caucasus and touches the extreme point of the Ghado, now called Likhi.<sup>34</sup>

This territory was, then, divided between the Eponym's sons and grandsons; and here are the portions of some of them that were situated in the zone of our interest:

[Text B]

Gardabos [the second son] was given Khunani and assigned the boundaries: in the east, the river Berduji; in the west, the city of Gach'iani; in the south, the mountain previously mentioned; and in the north, the Cyrus. But Cach'ios [the fifth son] was given the castle of Orbi [= Orbet'i] and from Skviret'i River to the beginning of Abots'i. And Gach'ios built the city of Gach'iani which then was called Sanadiro-city ... Odzrkhos [the second son of the eldest son of K'art'los] was given from Tasiskari [= the Borzhom Pass] to the Sea of Syspiritis [= the Black Sea], — a

<sup>33</sup> III/I.

<sup>34</sup> Leont. Mrov. 4-5: აღმოსავლით ჰერეთი და მდინარე ბერდუჯი; დასავლით ზღუა პონტო; სამხრით მთა, რომელი მიჰყვების ბერდუჯის მდინარის თავსა, და მთა, რომელი მიჰყვების დასავლით კერძო, რომლისა წყალი გარდმოედის ჩრდილოთ კერძო და მიერთვის მტკუარსა, რომელ მიჰყვების მთა შორის კლარჯეთსა და ტაოხ ვიდრე ზღუამდის; და ჩრდილოთ საზღვარი დადო, მთა მცირე, რომელი გამოვლის მტოფ კავკასიისაგან და მოჰკიდავს წყერი დასახრულსა დადო, რომელსა აწ ჰქვან ლიხი. — For the mountains, see *infra*, § 8, 20.

rocky land. Odzrkhos built two city-fortresses Odzrkhe and T'ukharisi. And Javakhos [younger brother of the preceding] was given from [lake] P'anavari to the sources of the Cyrus. Javakhos built two city-fortresses: Tsunda and the city of Artani which then was called K'ajt'a-city and now Huri.<sup>35</sup>

Texts A and B mythologize the historical memory regarding the original Georgian lands, i.e., territorialized tribes and clans. The lands thus recognized as originally Georgian are: Gardabani, allegorized by Gardabos; Gach'iani, allegorized by Gach'ios and only bordering upon ('to the beginning of') Abots'i (and also Tashiri); Samts'khe, allegorized by Odzrkhos after its chief fortress, including, as it stretched 'towards the sea,' also Achara, Shavshet'i, and Nigali; Javakhet'i, the remnant of the Diauehi allegorized by Javakhos, including Artani and Kola ('to the sources of the Cyrus'). The description of the southern boundary of Iberia in Text A is unmistakable: it is the following line of mountain ranges: the Somkhit'i Mountains, where the Berduji takes its rise; the Çıldır Range constituting the watershed between the Cyrus and the Araxes and stretching from lake Palakats'io to Kola; the Allahuekber Massif circling Kola in the south to join the Arsiani Mountains (Yalnızçam-dağ) that separate the valley of the lower Cyrus from that of the Acampsis; then, branching off from the Arsiani, the elevation of Parkhali-Paryadres (Meğrebin) which continues, across the Acampsis, in the Pontic Alps.<sup>36</sup> Thus Text A may be interpreted as implying that, while Tao lay outside original Iberia, Cholarzene was within its frontiers. At all events, the same History relates a little later that the traditional first King of Iberia, Pharnabazus, founder of the Pharnabazid Dynasty, conquered Iberia and *then* Cholarzene from the Macedonian troops of occupation. The question of the original position of Cholarzene is, as will be seen in its place, a moot one.<sup>36a</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Leont. Mrov. 8-10: გარდაბოვს მისცა ზუნანი და უჩინა ხაზდვარი: აღმოსავლეთ მდინარე ბერდუჯიხი, დახავლით ქალაქი გაჩიანი, და სამგრით მთა პირველ გზენებული, და ჩრდილოთ მტკვარი. ზოლლ გაჩიოვს მისცა ორბის ციხე და სკვრეთის მდინარითგან ვიდრე თავადმდე აბოცია. და ამან გაჩიოვს აღაშენა ქალაქი გაჩიანი, რომელსა მაშინ ერქვა ხანადიორ ქალაქი... ომრგოვს მისცა ტახისკართგან ვიდრე ზღუამდე სპერისა, ქუეყანა კლდოვანი. ამან ომრგოვს აღაშენა ორნი ციხე-ქალაქნი: ომრგე და თუნარიხი. ზოლლ ჯავახოვს მისცა თანავრითგან ვიდრე თავადმდე მტკვრისა. და ამან ჯავახოვს აღაშენა ორნი ციხე-ქალაქნი: წუნდა და ქალაქი არტანისა, რომელსა მაშინ ერქვა ქაჯთა ქალაქი, ზოლლ აწ ჰქვან ჰური. Cf. Vax. 70-72.

<sup>36</sup> This forms a part, not always the most important, of the 'peripheral region' of Armenia (*scil.* of the Armenian Plateau) of H. Lynch, *Armenia: Travels and Studies* (London, 1901) I 430-435, map on p. 452.

<sup>36a</sup> *Infra*, § 11 at nn. 87-91. — For the probability of a Macedonian incursion into Iberia, as a basis for the traditional story of Alexander's invasion of it, see I n. 104.



5. The birth of the Pharnabazid Monarchy was, at all events, followed by a certain amount of expansionism. The passage of Leontius which almost immediately follows the reference to the acquisition of Cholarzene and which records the establishment of the duchies, tends to show the increase of the new State at the expense of some border territory. This passage is as follows:

[Text C]

the third [official] he [Pharnabazus] sent to be duke over Khunani, and gave him [the territory] from Berduji River to Tiflis and Gach'iani, which is Gardabani; the fourth he sent to be duke over Samshvilde, and gave him from Skviret'i River to the mountain [= the Armenian Plateau], which is Tashiri and Abots'i; the fifth he sent to be duke over Tsunda, and gave him from P'anavari to the sources of the Cyrus, which is Javakhet'i and Kola and Artani; the sixth he sent to be duke over Odzrkhe, and gave him from Tasiskari to [the] Arsiani [mountains], from the source of the Noste to the sea, which is Samts'khe and Achara; the seventh he sent to be duke over Cholarzene, and gave him from Arsiani to the sea ...<sup>37</sup>.

Accordingly, the border territory in which we are interested was divided into five of the duchies of the Pharnabazid Monarchy, entrusted with the defence of its southern frontiers. The land of Gardabani constituted one of them, centred in the fortress of Khunani, from which it derived its administrative name, and protecting the approaches to the heart of the Monarchy, on the middle Cyrus, from the Albanian and Armenian regions. The land of Gach'iani, now enlarged through the annexation of Tashiri and Abots'i which lay beyond the original southern, mountainous, frontier of the Georgian territory, was another, deriving its name as a duchy from its chief fortress of Samshvilde or Orbet'i and defending the realm against any attack from Armenia. The lands of Javakhet'i, Artani, and Kola were formed into still another, which derived its name from the Javakhian stronghold of Tsunda and guarded the approaches from both the Armenian and the Pontic regions. Likewise, Samts'khe and Achara (and, no doubt, Shavshet'i and Nigali) were parts of a duchy called after the castle of Odzrkhe and set up to defend the kingdom from the Pontic side. Newly-annexed Cholarzene became co-extensive with a duchy

<sup>37</sup> Leont. Mrov. 24: მეზამე გაგზავნა ზუნანისა ერისთავად, და მისცა ბერდუჯის მდინარითგან ვიდრე ტფილისამდე და გაჩიანთამდის, რომელ არს გარდაბანი. მეოთხე გაგზავნა სამშვილდის ერისთავად, და მისცა სკვირეთისა მდინარითგან ვიდრე მთამდე, რომელ არს ტაშირი და აბოცი. მეხუთე გაგზავნა წუნდის ერისთავად, და მისცა დანგარითგან ვიდრე თავადმდე მტკვრისა, რომელ არს ჯავახეთი და კოლა და არტანი. მეექვსე გაგზავნა ოძრკის ერისთავად, და მისცა ტახისგარითგან ვიდრე არხიანთამდის, ნოხტის თავითგან ზღუამდის, რომელ არს სამცხე და აჭარა. მეშვიდე გაგზავნა კლარჯეთის ერისთავად, და მისცა არხიანთგან ზღუამდე. Cf. I n. 159.

bearing its name, as another line of defence against Armenia and Asia Minor. Finally, as will be seen presently, Tao must, in part at last, have also been annexed by the early Pharnabazids, as a bastion of Cholarzene.

6. The prolongation of Samts'khe — through Achara — and of Cholarzene 'to the sea' is to be taken with a certain grain of salt, for, in actual fact, historical circumstances combined with geography to bar to Iberia an access to the Euxine. Historically, the existence of the powerful neighbouring Euxine monarchies of Colchis and of Pontus, their union under the Mithridatids and the Polemonids, their annexation to the Roman Empire, and the subsequent division of their territories between the provincial administration of that empire and its vassal, West Georgian, kingdom of Lazica made any Iberian penetration to the sea an impossibility. Geographically, too, the country was well fenced in by the Little Caucasus and the Pontic Alps. Thus, Pliny the Elder knows Iberia as separated by mountains from the Euxine coast.<sup>38</sup> Yet there were gaps in this containment. The two mountain ranges do not form one impenetrable wall, and the region of the mouth of the Acampsis, where they come together serves as a gap through which an Iberian thrust towards the sea might be effected. Concurrently, the Roman hold on the eastern littoral of the Black Sea may, by the second century, have become somewhat relaxed. Although the Romans continued to control a number of strategic fortresses along the coast, Arrian's *Periplus of the Euxine* (A. D. 131) shows that there were also several autonomous West Georgian dynasts — this, however, may have always been the situation — and, what is more, that some of the coastal peoples, like the Drilles, refused obedience to the Emperor. Another of these peoples, the Zydritae, dwelling, precisely, near the mouth of the Acampsis, are said to be subjects of Pharasmanes.<sup>39</sup> The absence of any further qualifi-

<sup>38</sup> Pliny 6.4.12: 'In ora ante Trapezunta flumen est Pyxites, ultra vero gens Sannorum Heniochorum, flumen Absarrum cum castello cognomini in faucibus, a Trapezunte CXL. eius loci a tergo montium Hiberia est, in ora vero Heniochi, Ampreutae, Lazi ...'

<sup>39</sup> Arrian, *Periplus* 15: "Εθνη δὲ παρημέγαμεν τάδε. Τραπεζουντίοις μὲν, καθάπερ καὶ Ξενοφῶν λέγει, Κόλχοι ὄμοροι · καὶ οὗς λέγει τοὺς μαχιμωτάτους καὶ ἐχθροτάτους εἶναι τοῖς Τραπεζουντίοις, ἐκεῖνος μὲν Δριλλας ὀνομάζει, ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκοῦσιν οἱ Σάννοι οὗτοι εἶναι. Καὶ γὰρ μαχιμώτατοί εἰσιν εἰς τοῦτο ἔτι καὶ τοῖς Τραπεζουντίοις ἐχθρότατοι, καὶ χωρὶα ὄχυρά οἰκοῦσι, καὶ ἔθνος ἀβασίλευτον, πάλαι μὲν καὶ φόρον ὑποτελεῖς Ῥωμαίοις, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ ληστεύειν οὐκ ἀκριβοῦσι τὴν φορὰν · ἀλλὰ νῦν γε διδόντος θεοῦ ἀκριβώσουσιν, ἢ ἐξελοῦμεν αὐτούς. Τούτων δὲ ἔχονται Μαχέλωνες καὶ Ἠνίοχοι · βασιλεὺς δ' αὐτῶν Ἀγχιάλος. Μαχελόνων δὲ καὶ Ἠνιόχων ἐχόμενοι Ζυδρεῖται · Φαρασμάνον οὗτοι ὑπήκοοι. Ζυδρεϊτῶν δὲ Λαζοὶ · βασιλεὺς δὲ Λαζῶν Μαλάσσας, δς τὴν βασιλείαν παρὰ σοῦ ἔχει. Λαζῶν δὲ Ἀψίλαι ἔχονται · βασιλεὺς δὲ αὐτῶν Ἰουλιανός · οὗτος εἰς τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ σοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔχει. Ἀψίλαις δὲ ὄμοροι Ἀβασκοὶ · καὶ Ἀβασκῶν βασιλεὺς Ῥησμάγας · καὶ οὗτος παρὰ σοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔχει. Ἀβασκῶν δὲ ἐχόμενοι Σανίγαι, ἵνα περ καὶ ἡ Σεβαστόπολις ὥκισται. Σανίγων βασιλεὺς Σπαδάγας ἐκ σοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔχει. — Note,



cation in connexion with this *praenomen*, in contrast with the royal title and words of explanation accompanying the *praenomina* of other dynasts, must be taken to indicate that the personage so designated was well known, at least to the Emperor Hadrian to whom the *Periplus* was dedicated. There can be little doubt, therefore, that the personage in question was King Pharasmanes II of Iberia who was indeed well known to Hadrian for having refused, two years previously (A.D. 129), to come and pay homage to him when the Emperor was touring the East.<sup>40</sup>

It is not known how long this Iberian foothold on the Euxine was maintained. It must, at all events, have been lost by 378, when, as will be seen, Cholarzene was annexed to the Empire. But this incident must have left a lasting imprint upon the historical memory of the Iberian Monarchy and helped to enhance its cosmocratic claims. For the official historiography of Iberia in-

in this connexion, not only that the Drilles are said to be both kingless and no longer dependent on the Empire, but also that Anchiales, King of the Machelones and the Heniochi is not said, like the rest of the dynasts (except Pharasmanes), to derive his royal authority from the Roman Emperor. The Drilles, as Arrian is right in supposing, are most likely the same people as the Sanni of Pliny (cf. the preceding note), i.e., the equally independent Tzani of Procopius, *Bell. pers.* 1.15.20-25. — The *Anonym. Periplus* [Lond.], 1 and 10, places the Zydritae between the rivers Archabis and Apsarus; see, for the whole problem, Baschmakoff, *Synthèse* 41, 56-57 (and cf. the map: 'Dixième Section'). The Apsarus in this case must, *pace* Baschmakoff, be taken to mean the Acampsis (Čoroxi) to which the former name was not infrequently applied by the ancients, including, as is obvious from the context, by Arrian himself: *Periplus*, 16; cf. Müller, *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographia*, I/2 note on p. 869. The memory of this people has been preserved in the last two syllables of the toponym C'ixisjiri, designating a coastal town and a cape some 13 ½ km. north of Batum (Bathys), in Ačara as it is to-day, and consequently also north of the mouth of the Acampsis: Baschmakoff *loc. cit.*, ('Dzihodziri,' 'Zikhédziri'); USAF Chart 324 C II (1957). It may also have been preserved in the toponym *Zaδgίς* found in Ptolemy 5.9.4; cf. Müller, note on p. 925. The location of this toponym: by the Phasis (on the southern frontier of Colchis, for which see: Ptolemy 5.9.3) must either indicate another settlement of this people or Ptolemy's error, for in connexion with Caucasia the great mathematician-geographer is often singularly inexact (cf. *infra* n. 53). For the possible Circassian connexion of the Zydritae, as well as of the population of Ačara, see Baschmakoff 56-57. — For the Roman control of the littoral: Chapot, *Euphrate* 363-373.

<sup>40</sup> Aelius Spartianus, *Vita Hadriani* 13.9; 17.10-12; 21.13. — Subsequently, however, Pharasmanes paid a state visit to Rome and was very well received by Antoninus Pius: Jul. Capitolinus, *Vita Pii* 9.6; Cassius Dio 69.15. 1, 2, 3. Debevoise, *Parthia* 243-244, rather telescopes the two incidents together, and also the Alan invasion, apparently prompted by Pharasmanes and occurring between them, into one event taking place under Hadrian; but cf. Magie, *Roman Rule* 621, 659. — Cassius Dio (69.15.3) also states that the Emperor enlarged the King's realm (*τὴν τε ἀρχὴν ἐπηύξησε*); but we do not know in what way. Plutarch († c. 120), projecting the situation of his own time back to the days of Pompey, says that the Iberians reached to the Moschic mountains and to the Euxine (*Ἰβηρες μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ Μοσχικά ὄρη καὶ τὸν Πόντον καθήκοντες*): *Pompeius* 34.1-2.

variably tended to treat the Pontic, and to a lesser extent also Albanian and even Armenian, lands as perennially subject to the nucleal, East Georgian sceptre.<sup>41</sup> This, then, is what must lie at the basis of the statement of Leontius of Ruisi that Samts'khe and Cholarzene passed beyond the mountains towards the Euxine waters.

7. The expansionism of the first Pharnabazids must have been made possible by the comparative weakness of the First Armenian Monarchy of the Orontids which was constantly harrassed by the imperial pressure of the Seleucids. In this context, the extension of Seleucid suzerainty to relatively distant Iberia, to which the national historical tradition of the country bears witness,<sup>42</sup> acquires a significance which tends to confirm the trustworthiness of this witness: the Iberian alliance — and an alliance between a great empire and a young kingdom could then only assume the forms of overlord-client relationship — was needed by the Seleucids in order to hold the Orontid Monarchy within a pincer movement.<sup>43</sup> The situation must, however, have changed radically at the beginning of the second century B. C., with the decline of the Seleucids and the simultaneous rise of the strong Second Armenian Monarchy of the Artaxiads.<sup>44</sup> Accordingly, our next mention of the Armeno-Iberian borderland — next from the point of view of historical development and not of historiography: relative to the period that followed the one referred to in the work of Leontius of Ruisi and just examined, but which preceded, of course, the epoch reflected in Arrian to which reference has just been made — has to do with Artaxiad expansion in these regions.

It is from Strabo that we learn that, on becoming in 188 B. C., independent kings, respectively, of Armenia and of Sophene, following the defeat of Antiochus the Great by the Romans, Artaxias and Zariadris proceeded jointly to enlarge now divided Great Armenia.<sup>45</sup> Accordingly, they wrested from the Iberians 'the land along the side of Mt Paryadres and Cholarzene and Gogarene.'<sup>46</sup> These three regions must now be examined.

<sup>41</sup> For cosmocratism in general, see I § 3, esp. at nn. 28-38; in Caucasia, at nn. 44, 86, 158; cf. *infra* § 16 at n. 164, § 17 at n. 168, § 18 n. 187, and nn. 109, 113, 122, 152, 181. This is the reason why Leont. Mrov., 24, adds two West Georgian duchies to his list of the Iberian ones (part of the text: *supra* at n. 37), namely, Margvi or Margvet'i and Egrisi (in the narrow sense of later Mingrelia), thus making them nine in number: cf. I nn. 158, 159.

<sup>42</sup> *Supra* n. 30.

<sup>43</sup> See I § 7; III/I.

<sup>44</sup> I § 8-9.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.* at n. 79.

<sup>46</sup> 11.14.5: 'Ιστοροῦσι δὲ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν, μικρὰν πρότερον οὖσαν, αὐξηθῆναι διὰ τῶν περὶ Ἀρταξίαν καὶ Ζαριάδρου... συνηύξησαν, ἐκ τῶν περιειμένων ἐθνῶν ἀποτεμώμενοι μέρη, ἐκ ... Ἰβήρων δὲ τὴν τε παρῳρείαν τοῦ Παιάδρου [emended by Xylander as : Παρνάδρου] καὶ τὴν Χορζηνήν [cf. *supra* n. 22] καὶ Γωγαρηνήν, πέραν οὖσαν τοῦ Κύρου...

8. That 'the land along the side of Mt Paryadres' — *παρώρεια τοῦ Παρνάδρου* must signify Tao-Tayk', has been indicated by Markwart and Hübschmann.<sup>47</sup> The use of the name of Paryadres (and variants) by the ancients may appear as lacking in consistency and precision to a superficial observer.<sup>48</sup> Yet the theory proposed by Markwart helps to resolve apparent inconsistencies into a systematic whole.<sup>49</sup> Accordingly, the entire concatenation of mountain ranges that stretches from Iran to the Propontis, including the Elburz Mts, the northern rim of the Armenian Plateau, and the Pontic Alps, must at one time — that is, in the phase of 'Iranianism' — have been called something like *\*parah-xwāθra* or *\*paru-xwāθra* ('Lustparadies,' i.e., 'über das gewöhnliche Wohlbehagen hinausgehend, vorzügliches Wohlbehagen bietend' or 'viel Lust, Wohlgehagen gewährend'). This reconstructed original name survived, in fact, in four groups of foreign renderings, applied to four different sections of that system of mountain chains. (1) The first section is that of the Elburz Mts, called *Παραχόαθρας* by Strabo (11.8.1,8; 11.12.4; 11.14.1) and *Παρχοάσθρας* by Ptolemy (6.5, 6), as well as both *Pariades* and *Choatras* by Pliny (5.27.98). — (2) The second section, the northern rim of the Armenian Plateau, is nowhere overtly called by a derivation of the above Old Persian name, but the region due north of it, surrounding Tiflis, is indeed called *Paruar* in the Armenian Geography of the seventh-century Armenian mathematician and cosmographer, Ananias of Siracene.<sup>50</sup> Markwart's conjecture that Pliny's *Parihedri montes* (6.11.29) designate this section can not, as will be seen presently, be maintained.<sup>51</sup> (3) The third section is the elevation separated by the Acampsis from the easternmost section of the Pontic Alps, where the Acampsis as well as the Euphrates take their rise, and which stretches northwards to the Little Caucasus and southwards to be the watershed between the Euphrates and the Araxes. A part of this elevation is called *Παρνάδρης* by Strabo (11.12.4; 11.14.5)<sup>52</sup> and Ptolemy (5.12.2)<sup>53</sup>, and *Parihedri montes* by Pliny (6.9.25; 6.11.

<sup>47</sup> Markwart, *Ērānšahr* 116; *Südarmenien* 21\*-22\*; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 241, 277. This is denied by Ingoroqva 478-486.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Reinach, *Mithridate* 10, n. 1.

<sup>49</sup> *Südarmenien* 17\*-24\*.

<sup>50</sup> Ananias 28.

<sup>51</sup> *Infra* n. 54.

<sup>52</sup> 11.12.4: Πέραν δὲ τοῦ Εὐφράτου κατὰ τὴν μικρὰν Ἀρμενίαν ἐφεξῆς τῷ Ἀντιτάτρῳ πρὸς ἄρκτον ἐπεκτείνεται μέγα ὄρος καὶ πολυσχιδές· καλοῦσι δὲ τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ Παρνάδρην, τὸ δὲ Μοσχικὰ ὄρη, τὸ δ' ἄλλοις ὀνόμασι· ταῦτα δ' ἀπολαμβάνει τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ὅλην μέχρι Ἰβήρων καὶ Ἀλβανῶν. — For 11.14.5, see *supra* n. 46.

<sup>53</sup> Ὅρη δὲ τῆς Ἀρμενίας ὀνομάζεται τὰ τε καλούμενα Μοσχικὰ διατείνοντα παρὰ τὸ ὑπερκείμενον μέρος τοῦ Καππαδοκικοῦ Πόντου καὶ ὁ Παρνάδρης ὄρος, οὗ τὰ πέρατα ἐπέχει μοίρας οὐ' μγ' γ' καὶ οὐ' μβ'. The figures 75° 43' 20" and 77° 42' for the longitude and latitude of either end of the chain would place Mt Paryadres in the middle of Armenia. It is this, no doubt, that led to a further error: in 5.12.4, Ptolemy places Siracene and Saca-

29);<sup>54</sup> it is called *Parxar* in Armenian sources and *Parxali* in Georgian.<sup>55</sup> — (4) Finally, the fourth section is that of the Pontic Alps, to some eastern branches of which the name *Παρυάδρης*, as well as that of *Σκνδίσσης*, is applied by Strabo (11.2.15; 11.14.1; 12.3.30), and *Parhal dağı* by the Turks.

sene along Mt Paryadres: *Χῶραι δὲ εἰσιν ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ ἐν τῷ ἀπολαμβανομένῳ μεταξὺ Εὐφράτου καὶ Κύρου καὶ Ἀράξου ποταμῶν τμήματι παρὰ μὲν τὰ Μοσχικὰ ὄρη ἢ Καταρζηνή ὑπὲρ τοὺς καλουμένους Βόχας, παρὰ δὲ τὸν Κύρον ποταμὸν ἢ τε Ὡβαρηνή [scil. Γωγαρηνή] καὶ ἢ Ὡτηνῇ, παρὰ δὲ τὸν Ἀράξην ποταμὸν ἢ τε Κολθηνή καὶ ἢ ὑπ' αὐτὴν Σοδουκηνή, παρὰ δὲ τὸν Παρυάδρην τὸ ὄρος ἢ τε Σιρακηνή καὶ ἢ Σακασηνή.* But, regarding Caucasia, Ptolemy is notoriously inexact. Thus, e.g., he confuses the Apsarus and the Glauca river (5.6.6; cf. Müller, n. on p. 869); places Orbalisene-Basilisene, a province of Lesser Armenia, in Greater Armenia (5.12.6; cf. 5.6.18; cf. Müller, n. on p. 882); ascribes to lake Urmia the name of *Ἀρσησα* which properly belongs to Thospites-Van; see, for all this, Markwart, *Südarmenien* 11\* ('seine Karte von Armenien und Medien ein wahres Zerrbild ist') — 12\*, 31 ('die Entstehung des unglaublichen Gallimathias, welchen Ptolemaios' Karte von Südarmenien darstellt') — 32, cf. p. 18\*-19\*; also Müller 932 ('Armeniae descriptio erroribus scatet') cf. 934 ('mons perperam in media Armenia ponitur ...'). But if the figures given by Ptolemy for the longitude and latitude of Mt Paryadres are incorrect, so also are those for the sources of the Euphrates (5.12.3: 75° 40' 42° 40') and of the Araxes (*ibid.*: 76° 30' 42° 30'). It is, consequently, beyond question that, whatever the erroneous calculations of Ptolemy, the *relative* position of Mt Paryadres as between the source of the Euphrates and that of the Araxes makes it abundantly clear that this chain is none other than section 3 of the system of mountains mentioned above; cf. Markwart 22\*.

<sup>54</sup> 6.9.25: 'Armenia autem Maior incipit a Parihedris montibus, Euphrate amne, ut dictum est, aufertur Cappadociae et, qua discedit Euphrates, Mesopotamiae haut minus claro amne Tigri ... sic finem usque ad Adiabenem perfert [Armenia]; ab ea transversis iugis inclusa latitudinem in laeva pandit ad Cyrum amnem transversa Araxen, longitudinem vero ad Minorem usque Ameniam, Absarro amne in Pontum defluente et Parihedris montibus qui fundunt Absarrum discreta ab illa.' — *Absarrus* here stands for the Acampsis; cf. Müller, n. on p. 869 and *supra*, n. 39. — 6.11.29: 'Planitiem omnem a Cyro usque Albanorum gens tenet, mox Hiberum discreta ab his amne Alazone in Cyrum Caucasus montibus defluente. praevalent oppida Albaniae Cabalaca, Hiberiae Hermastus iuxta flumen et Neoris. regiones Thasie et Thriare usque ad Parihedros montes; ultra sunt Colchicae solitudines, quarum a latere ad Ceraunios verso Armenochalybes habitant et Moschorum tractus ad Hiberum amnem in Cyrum defluentem et infra eos Sacasani et deinde Macerones ad flumen Absarrum.' — Markwart *Südarmenien* 23\*, and then Ingoroqva 421, 467, 482-486, would interpret the *Parihedri montes* of the second passage as referring to the above section 2: the northern ridge of the Armenian Plateau, more particularly (so Ingoroqva) Mt Pambaki. This cannot be accepted. The statement that beyond these mountains lay the Colchian desert and then the land of the Armenochalybes, Moschi, Macerones to the Absarrus indicates with singular clarity that the same Mt Paryadres, i.e., the above section 3, is meant exactly as in Pliny's previous passage. Cf. also *supra* n. 38. — For the regions of Thasie and Thriare, cf. *infra* § 15 at n. 147.

<sup>55</sup> Lazarus 41; Ananias 35; Ps. Moses 2.6; Leont. Mrov. 48 (*infra* n. 56); cf. Vax. 120; Markwart, *Südarmenien* 22\*; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 371.

'The land along the side of Mt Paryadres,' as distinct from Cholarzene and Gogarene, must indeed be Tao (3); and this description of it by Strabo is echoed in the words of Leontius of Ruisi: 'the mountain ... which stretches, between Cholarzene and Tao, towards the sea' and, especially, 'the land of Parkhali, which is Tao.'<sup>56</sup>

All of the foregoing must signify that Pharnabazid expansionism must have acquired not only Cholarzene, but also Tao-Tayk'<sup>56a</sup> Both were subsequently lost to the Armenian Monarchy; but, whereas, as will be seen, Cholarzene reverted to Iberia, Tao-Tayk' did not, until long after Leontius of Ruisi's time. This is the reason why for him Tao is an Armenian land.<sup>57</sup> And it is only in the latter part of the eighth century that Tao appears in Georgian sources as lying within the Iberian political sphere.<sup>58</sup> On the other hand, the Armenian historical monuments amply demonstrate that Tayk', during the period from the Conversion, at the beginning of the fourth century, to the second half of the eighth, was an integral part of the Armenian Monarchy<sup>59</sup> and, in particular, a principality of the Armenian dynasty of the Mamikonids.<sup>60</sup> A part at

<sup>56</sup> Leont. Mrov. 4 (*supra*, n. 34), 48: და იგი [კლარჯეთის ერისთავი] ავნებდის ხანდვართა ზღმნიობათა, ქუეყანასა პარხლისასა, რომელ არს ტაო ('And he [the Duke of Cholarzene] harassed the frontiers of Armenia: the land of Parxali, which is Tao'). Cf. Ps. Moses 2.6 (101): [վաղարշակ] դռնիայ առ ստորստիկն Պարխարայ ընդ մէջ Տայկոյ ('[Vologases] returned to the foot of Parxar in the middle of Tayk'). For Vaxušt 120, *Parxali* (*Paraxli*), or *Taoskari*, is another name for Tao.

<sup>56a</sup> This is what Apollodorus may be referring to (in the second century B.C.) when saying that the Araxes separates the Iberians from the Armenians: *Perieg.* 2 fr. 123 (451) = Strabo 1.3.21; but cf. Strabo's remark (*ibid.*) that the Cyrus must be meant here.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. *supra* n. 56: it was in the course of a war on Armenia that the Iberian Duke of Cholarzene was harassing its frontiers, i.e., Tao.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. *infra* at n. 75.

<sup>59</sup> Gk Life of St Gregory 172 (103); Faustus 6.11; Lazarus 23, 41, 53, 62; Elisens 2 (37), 7 (165); Sebēos 32 (187), 33 (191); Ananias 35; Ps. Moses 2.6; 3.44; John Kath. 68: Tayk' was among the Armenian lands ceded by Chosroes II to Maurice in the treaty of partition of 591, and was called Deep Armenia (*Xoragoyñ Hayk'*); cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 231-232. Many of these texts mention various Bishops of Tayk' among Armenian churchmen, as also do the acts of the Council of Dvin of 505/6 (*Bk Lett.* 41), those of the Council of Manazkert of 726 (cf. Adontz *Armenija* 335), and a letter of John II Katholikos of Armenia (c. 557-574) (*Bk Lett.* 81). — Cf. also Hübschmann 276-278, 357-361.

<sup>60</sup> Gk Life of St Gregory 172; Faustus 3.18; 4.2, 18; Lazarus 62, 68, 75; Sebēos 1 (41); Leontius 6 (122-123). — See, for the Mamikonids, II § 12.18. — The fact that the Mamikonids may have been of Georgian or proto-Georgian (Tzannic-Sannic) origin can hardly be used as an argument against Tayk'-Tao's belonging to Armenia (cf. Ingoroqva 489-490): we are dealing here not with the sub-civilized level of racial origins, but with the civilized level of cultural, political, and social relations. Ingoroqva 490, rather takes *au pied de la lettre* the legend of the advent of the Mamikonids to Armenia in the third century (as found in Sebēos and Ps. Moses); Faustus 5.4, 37, does not know of this recent arrival; and actually

least of Tayk' must have been given as an appanage to a separate Mamikonid branch already in the sixth century.<sup>61</sup> Then, by the beginning of the eighth the rival Bagratids had begun encroaching on Tayk' from their neighbouring principality of Syspirtis.<sup>62</sup> And after the disastrous defeat of the Armenian insurgents by the Caliph's forces in 772, the Bagratids possessed themselves of (a part at least of) this Mamikonid principedom — as in fact they possessed themselves of many other principalities of their rivals; — and there, Ashot IV raised the fortress of Kalmakhi and offered asylum to hard-pressed princes from the south.<sup>63</sup> The former event is reported also, on the Georgian side, though in very confused way, by Juansher.<sup>64</sup>

the Mamikonids were one of the most ancient houses of the Armenian Monarchy: II § 12.18; III/II § 12.

<sup>61</sup> II n. 285.

<sup>62</sup> Smbat VI went to Tayk' and established himself at T'uxark': Leontius 8 (26); Vardan 71. — See, for the Bagratid principedom of Syspirtis, II § 12.9; III/II § 13 — T'uxarisi (Georg.) = T'uxark' (Arm.) was a fortress on the frontier of Tao and Cholarzene: Jav. 332-333. Some modern authors tend, with Leontius and Vardan, to think of it as located in Tao: Jav. 345; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 360. Vaxušt 112-113, Map. I, places it in Šavšet'i. Yet Leontius of Ruisi, 131, is definite in showing it situated in Cholarzene. In this Ananias 35 is in accord with him. The exact location of this stronghold has not been determined: cf. Blake-Der Nersessian, *Gospels of Bert'ay* 237-238. But it would seem to have been situated somewhere near the frontier between Tao and Cholarzene. — Already in the seventh century, Bagratids took refuge in Tayk': Sebeos 32 (186).

<sup>63</sup> Vardan 76: *Իսկ տղիքն Սմբատայ Առաւ և Շապուհ, հասարակ բաժանեցին ըզհայրենիս իւրեանց. և զի Զահապ յափշտակեալ էր մասն ինչ յԱրշարունեաց, և խորհէր տիրել 'ի ձեռն կնոջն բոլոր աշխարհին, զայն առին յինքեանս Առաւ և Շապուհ. և ելեալք զկողմամբքն Շիրակայ՝ հարին զգօրսն Իսմայելի՝ որ անդ, և գրաւեցին յինքեանս զՇիրակ և զԱռոցք, և զգաւառն Տայոց: Եւ այսպէս ըստ բախտին ելեալ Առաւի քաջի՝ շինէ զԿամախ, և բնակեցուցանէ 'ի նմա զընտանիս իւր* ('Then the sons of Smbat, Ashot and Šapuh, divided equally their father's possessions. And because Jahap had seized a part of Aršarunik' and was thinking of acquiring, through his wife, the whole of that land, Ashot and Šapuh took it themselves. And passing through the region of Siracene, they harassed the troops of Ismael that were there and possessed themselves of Siracene and Ašoc' and of the country of Tayk'. And thus, favoured by fortune, the valiant Ashot built Kamax and established his family there'). Subsequently, Ashot IV invited the House of Gnuni, harassed by the Saracens in their State of Aļiovit, to settle in Tayk': Vardan 77. Vardan seems to connect the acquisition of Tayk' with the staving off of Jahap's claims, through his wife, to the Mamikonid succession. For the insurrection of 771-772, see Grousset, *Histoire* 323-334 (where no mention is made, among the events that followed it, of the Bagratid acquisition of Tayk'). Ps. Moses, with his customary Bagratid loyalism, omits all mention of Tayk' as a Mamikonid principedom, thus palliating what in fact was but a part of the general campaign of spoliation conducted by the Bagratids against their Mamikonid rivals: cf. Adontz, *Armenija* 310, 267; Akinian, in *RE Suppl.* 6 536, 537; cf. III/III n. 81. — For Ka(l)max, see the following note.

<sup>64</sup> Juansher 244: *Յաճցե ջամեճ Բարթաւմեմնո ցոնեց արա ղեցեմեմնեք քլարձցեալս, Ննշալ*



9. So far Tayk'-Tao has been spoken of as a single geographical and political unit, but the fact of toponymical ambivalence that marks the historical geography of Caucasia, resulting from the constantly fluctuating frontier line between the Armenian and the Iberian Monarchy and the overlapping of respective claims and control,<sup>65</sup> makes it well-nigh impossible to be certain that that was indeed the case. We do know that the canton of Kola or Kol which the traditional Armenian geography includes in Tayk' lay outside Georgian Tao.<sup>66</sup> This suggests that the Armenian term Tayk' covered a larger territory than did the Georgian term Tao. On the other hand, Tao, according to Georgian sources, was divided into two parts: the north-eastern, called Lower or Hither Tao, and the south-western, called Upper or Thither Tao. And it has been conjectured, in this connexion, that only the southern part corresponded to Armenian Tayk' and was, consequently, within the political sphere of Armenia, whereas the northern part never left the orbit of Georgia.<sup>67</sup> There is nothing intrinsically impossible about this conjecture. Armenian historiography is not on the whole precise enough to enable us to establish the

წარვიდეს ნანეგარნი მათგანნი, და შეიპყრეს კლდე ერთი ტაოხ, რომელსა ერქუა კალმანი, და აღაშენეს ციხეჲ. ხოლო ნანეგარნი მოვიდეს კახეთად არჩილის თანა. ერთსა მათგანსა მისცა ცოლად ნათესავისაგან აბუხუარდსა, რამეთუ დაქვრივებულ იყო იგი და არა ეხუა ქმარი, და მიუბოძა წუქეთი ციხით და კახრითურთ ('At the same time, certain Vitaxae were not admitted into Cholarzene; instead, some of them went off and seized a rock in Tao, which is called Kalmaji, and built a castle there. But others went to Kakhetia, to Arč'il. To one of them he gave as wife one of the House of Abu-Xuasro, because she had become a widow and had no husband; and he granted to him Cuk'et'i with a castle and a residence'). In conjunction with Vardan (*supra* n. 63), it is clear that by the title of Vitaxa Juanšer refers here to Bagratids; not indeed the Iberian Bagratids (as held by Ingoroqva 79, who considers the latter to have been one and same family as the Vitaxae of Gogarene; which is absurd), but the Armenian. Upon them, Juanšer projected the title of the former Armenian lords of Cholarzene, the same Vitaxae of Gogarene (for this: *infra* § 15 at n. 153; cf. also II Appendix A II [12]). In this, concluding, section of his History, Juanšer's narrative appears ill-pieced together. The above passage telescopes in reverse order two successive Bagratid migrations northwards: (1) the acquisition of Tayk' by Ašot IV and (2) the earlier flight of other Bagratids to eastern Iberia. This earlier event is again mentioned by Juanšer, as found no doubt in a different source, in the passage immediately preceding the one just cited. This earlier passage tells of the flight to Kakhetia (= Šakix, Šak'ē, or Šakki), precisely to Arč'il, of three nephews of Ašot III Bagratuni who had blinded their uncle: see, for this, III/III § 6-9. — The concordance of Vardan and Juanšer leaves no doubt that by Kamax the former meant Kalmaji(i) in Tayk' and not Camachus-Ani on the Euphrates; this has by now been generally recognized: Honigsmann, *Ostgrenze* 219-221, 57 n. 2 (and the earlier authors cited by him). — For Kalmaji(i), the exact location of which is not known, see: Vax. 118; Jav. 333, § 35; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 360; *infra* n. 77.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. I n. 158.

<sup>66</sup> Ananias 35; cf. *supra* n. 10.

<sup>67</sup> Ingoroqva 493.

northern frontier of Tayk<sup>68</sup>; in fact, some of its cantons are not wholly identifiable.<sup>68</sup> Yet there are certain facts that tend to militate against it. First, there is (to repeat) the fact that Tao is not mentioned in any Georgian sources for the period from the early Pharnabazid epoch, that is, prior to its acquisition by the Artaxiad Monarchy, to the end of the eighth century.<sup>69</sup> Second, there is the purely Armenian character of toponyms found in northern Tao, such as P'anaskert(i) and Ishkhan(i).<sup>70</sup> Third, the penetration of Smbat VI Bagratuni as far as the north-western frontier of Tao, undertaken seemingly at the expense of Mamikonids,<sup>71</sup> may in the context with the rest likewise go counter to that theory. Finally, the plural form of the name of Tao, *Taoni*, found in Merch'ule, which Ingoroqva considers an old form,<sup>72</sup> seems to be less an expression of the above division of that province than simply an Armenianism: an exact rendering of *Tayk*.<sup>73</sup>

Tao — Lower Tao and Asip'ori, a canton in Upper Tao — reappears in the Georgian sources as part of the acquisition, made sometime between 786 and 807, of the — then still partial — Guaramid inheritance<sup>74</sup> by Adarnase, the founder of the Iberian line of the Bagratids.<sup>75</sup> And, as will be seen, his posterity, the Iberian Bagratids, subsequently appear in possession of the whole of that inheritance as well as of the whole of Tao.<sup>76</sup> It seems indeed highly probable that it was the dispossession of the Mamikonids, after 772, that first resulted in the division of Tayk'-Tao into two parts; and while the south-western

<sup>68</sup> Cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 357-361.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. *infra* at n. 75.

<sup>70</sup> Ingoroqva (e.g., map on p. 492) places Iṣṣan(i) in Thither Tao, but includes in Hither Tao the cities of Mamrovan(i) and Olt'isi. The former (Narumaki, later Narimani, Mamruan in Asojik, Namruan in Vardan: Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 361) has a purely Armenian ending, exactly as has P'anaskert: cf. Hübschmann 380, 384. Olt'isi may also bear an originally Armenian name: *ibid* 360-361. It appears first in Asojik (Uxti..) and subsequently for the first time in Georgian literature, in the *Chron. Iber.*; and Iṣṣan is a purely Armenian word; cf. IV Excursus B at nn. 29, 30. See also USAF Chart 324 C III (1954): Iṣṣan = T. Iṣhan; Mamrovan = T. Narman; Olt'isi = T. Oltu; P'anaskert is remembered in Paneskirt Yay-lasi. It is difficult to think that Iṣṣan, situated as it is north of the Olt'i river, could be in Thither Tao.

<sup>71</sup> *Supra* n. 62.

<sup>72</sup> Ingoroqva 491.

<sup>73</sup> Most Armenian names of countries are plural in form (cf. I § 15), yet Syspirtis, which Mr Ingoroqva 513, divides into no less than three parts, is singular in Georgian (Speri, Ispira), its Armenian original (Sper) happening to be, precisely, singular in form. Even as far down the Acampsis as Nigali we find Armenian toponyms: Anakert(i) and Art'van(i) = Art'vini: Vax. 110, 114.

<sup>74</sup> For this, see *infra* § 12, 13 (at n. 126), 21.

<sup>75</sup> *Infra* at nn. 125-126.

<sup>76</sup> *Infra* § 21.



Upper Tao was, as has already been noted, acquired by the Bagratids,<sup>77</sup> the north-eastern Lower Tao and Asisp'ori, the northernmost part of Upper Tao, must, at different times possibly, have fallen to the Guaramids, each dynasty acquiring what was nearest to it.

10. The canton of Kol-Kola must indeed have been a part of Iberia in early-Pharnabazid times and been included in the Duchy of Tsunda.<sup>78</sup> But it must have passed within the orbit of the Armenian Monarchy at the same time as Tao. Both Strabo (11.3.2)<sup>79</sup> and Pliny (6.10.26)<sup>80</sup> know of this land, i.e., the sources of the Cyrus, as part of Greater Armenia; in this the Armenian historical tradition recorded in Pseudo-Moses (2.6)<sup>81</sup> is in agreement with them. Yet, later in the first century, doubtless as a result of the weakening of the Armenian Monarchy, Plutarch describes the sources of the Cyrus as lying on Iberian territory.<sup>82</sup> This canton must have remained purely Georgian ethnically, as is clear from the *Martyrdom of the Nine Infants of Kola*, a Georgian hagiographical monument of not later than the sixth century and reflecting, possibly, a tradition of still higher antiquity. It reveals, moreover, the existence of a Prince of Kola,<sup>83</sup> a dynast unknown to the lists of the Armenian Princes; which must signify that at the epoch of the martyrdom, at any rate, Kola was outside the Armenian sphere, and also that its princes did not survive its re-

<sup>77</sup> The location of Kalmax(i) has not been established: Honigmann, *Ostgrenze* 220-221 (cf. Vax. 118). It would, however, be difficult to suppose that Ašot IV had moved his residence, and invited other princes to establish theirs, farther away from the Bagratid land of Syspiritis than in southern or Upper Tao. In this connexion, one may attempt to interpret an enigmatic toponym in the register of the estates belonging to the Patriarchate of Antioch in Iberia. This register (of the eleventh-twelfth century) is attached to the list of the episcopal sees dependent on Dara: a parallel version to the *Notitia Antiochena*, and one known in a Greek and two Armenian manuscripts, translations, we may be certain, from the Syriac. The register is adduced in Greek and in Conybeare's English translation from the Armenian, in Honigmann, *Ostgrenze* 219, and it mentions Panak'sēr-Πανάσκερ and the land of Zibard-Σηβάρδη neighbouring upon Kalmalk'-Καλμάλχη. The corrupt state of P'anaskert and Kalmax tempts one to conjecture the explanation of the third toponym, as: Zibard-Σηβάρδη < Συσπιδίτης = Σουσπέρτις ((Gk Life of St Gregory 172) = *susb'rtyn* (Arab. Life of St Gregory 160), i.e., Syspiritis-Sper-Ispiri.

<sup>78</sup> Leont. Mrov. 24 (*supra*, n. 37).

<sup>79</sup> ... τῷ Κύρῳ · ὃς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχων ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀρμενίας ...

<sup>80</sup> 'Cyrus oritur in Henlochis montibus quos alii Coraxicos vocavere.' This is part of the description of Greater Armenia, which ends with the words 'Incolae per confinium Armeniae nunc dicentur' introducing the description of Albania and Iberia (6.11.29). Kola may be related to Coraxici (mountains) and the earlier ethnicon Kurḫi/Kulḫi/Κόλχοι; yet Hecataeus distinguishes between the Κόραξοι and the Κῶλοι: fr. 185, 186.

<sup>81</sup> For Ps. Moses, at the time of the legendary King Vologases, i. e., of the Artaxiads (cf. I at n. 175), Kola was in Armenia: 2.6 (101); 2.9 (112).

<sup>82</sup> *Pompeius* 34. 2. ... τὸν Κύρῳ ποταμόν, ὃς ἐκ τῶν Ἰβηρικῶν ὄρων ἀνιστάμενος.

<sup>83</sup> Karst, *Corpus juris* I/2/1 175-176, 245 n. 4.

turn to that sphere. That return is evidenced by the *Geography* of Ananias, of the seventh century, which regards Kol as a canton of Armenian Tayk', though it appears to have reverted to Iberia before the end of the eighth century.<sup>85</sup> Apart from the above hagiographical work, Georgian sources do not mention Kola for the period elapsed between early Pharnabazid times and the ninth century, when Kola figures among the dominions of the Curopalate Ashot I the Great.<sup>86</sup>

11. Cholarzene, as has been already noted, appears not to have been initially a part of Iberia. It is definitely not included in Leontius of Ruisi's account of the lands allotted to K'art'los<sup>87</sup> and it is absent from the description of the two subsequent re-allotments of these lands among his sons and grandsons.<sup>88</sup> Yet, one of the latter, Odzrkhos, is said to have built the city-fortress of T'ukharisi,<sup>89</sup> which was in Cholarzene; and, at all events, this land was conquered by the first King, Pharnabazus.<sup>90</sup> It, thus, became one of the duchies of the early-Iberian Monarchy.<sup>91</sup> Then, in the second century B. C., together with Tao and Gogarene, Cholarzene passed to the Armenian Monarchy: this we know from Strabo.<sup>92</sup> Modern, nationalist, denials of this fact will not withstand a moment's reflexion.<sup>93</sup> During the decline of the Armenian

<sup>84</sup> Cf. II § 15 Table I.

<sup>85</sup> Ananias 35; Leontius 42 (168): fleeing Arab Armenia in 791, the Amatunis arrived at the frontier of Iberia in the canton of Kol (*հասանէր ի սահմանս վրաց ի գաւառն Կոլ*).

<sup>86</sup> *Infra* § 21.

<sup>87</sup> Leont. Mrov. 4-5 (*supra* § 4 n. 34: Text A). This was noted by Vaxušt 72.

<sup>88</sup> I Division: Leont. Mrov. 8-9; II Division: *ibid.* 9-10 (*supra* § 4 n. 35: parts of the two texts).

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.* 9: ამაჲს ოძრგოხს ადამენა ორნი ციხე-ქალაქნი: ოძრგე და თუხარისი ('This Ojrxos built two city-fortresses: Ojrxes and T'uxarisi'). The addition of T'uxarisi appears to be due to a subsequent nationalist desire to connect Cholarzene, so signally left out of the allotment of the eponymous family of K'art'los, with the divine dynasty of the primogenitor of the Iberians. And the choice of Ojrxos, the eponym of the neighbouring region, merely serves to underline the separateness of Cholarzene. — For the possible philological evidence that Cholarzene was Armenianized before becoming Georgianized, see *supra* n. 24. — For the location of T'uxarisi, see the *supra* n. 62.

<sup>90</sup> Leont. Mrov. 23: in liberating Iberia from Macedonian control, Pharnabazus possessed himself of all Iberia, except Cholarzene (დაიპყრა ყოველი ქართლი თჳნიერ გლარჯეთისა), but the following year he took it (ხელს წელსა მეორესა... დარწმუნა... მოვიდა გლარჯეთს და დაიპყრა გლარჯეთი).

<sup>91</sup> Cf. *supra* § 5 Text C (n. 37).

<sup>92</sup> 11.14.5 (*supra* n. 46).

<sup>93</sup> Thus, Ingoroqva, 427-434, would deny that Ptolemy's Catarzene (5.12.4) and Strabo's Cho[la]rzene (11.4.4,5) stand for Klarjet'i, connecting, instead, the former with the city of Citharizon in the Principality of Asthianene (cf. Procopius, *De aed.* 3.3.9; and, for Asthianene, II § 7) and identifying the latter with the Armenian land of Xorjēn-Chorzane (north of Asthianene: Procopius *loc. cit.*; cf. *supra* n. 22). Apart from the fact that the last-named land

Monarchy in the first century, Cholarzene must have returned to the Iberian political sphere.<sup>93a</sup> The Iberian historical tradition mentions this land as under the control of first-century kings, Aderk and Azork, until the revolt, upon an understanding with the King of Armenia, of the Duke of Cholarzene and some other dukes against King Amazaspes II of Iberia.<sup>94</sup> This no doubt reflects the reversal of the Ibero-Armenian marchlands to the Third Armenian Monarchy of the Arsacids, which had revived by the end of the first century, and definitively by the third century, the empire-building tradition of the Artaxiads. Accordingly, for Ptolemy, Cholarzene is a part of Armenia.<sup>95</sup> It was after this return to Armenia that Cholarzene must have been included in the Vitaxate of Gogarene: the viceroyalty of the North which had been formed by the Artaxiads out of their Iberian acquisitions and other lands.<sup>96</sup> This inclusion must be the reason why it is counted by Ananias of Siracene as a part of Gogarene.<sup>97</sup> The earliest monuments of Armenian literature, the documents of the Gregorian Cycle seem to know of Cholarzene as an Armenian frontier province.<sup>98</sup>

is not known to any sources prior to the fifth-sixth century, it can hardly have been wrested, as was Strabo's Cholarzene, from the Iberians, not being anywhere near Iberia, nor can it have been, like it, one of the northernmost provinces of Armenia bordering on the Caucasian Mts, Iberia, and Colchis; and as for Citharizon, Asthianene, in which it was situated, can not seriously be said, like Ptolemy's Catarzene, to lie next to the Moschic mountains and above the region of the *Βόχαι*, i.e., the Armenian canton of Buxa in southern Tayk', for which, cf. Ananias 35. — Cf. *supra* nn. 22, 23, 24, 46, 5.

<sup>93a</sup> In the mid-first century, 'Pharasmanes [I of Iberia] interfecto filio Radamisto quasi proditore, quo fidem in nos testaretur, vetus adversus Armenios odium promptius exercebat; tuncque primum illecti Moschi, gens ante alias socia Romanis, avia Armeniae incursavit': Tacitus, *Ann.* 13.37. *Moschi* here may refer to Cholarzene (a part of Meschia: *supra* n. 1); but the qualifying *illecti* may not necessarily imply Pharasmanes's control over them. At all events some time previously, they seem to have entered special relations with Rome independently of both Armenia and Iberia.

<sup>94</sup> Leont. Mrov. 43, 48, 57 (cf. also *infra* n. 152). — As is well known, early Georgian historical writings contain no dates, but abound, instead in synchronisms which, as a general rule, are remarkably exact and which thus enable the historian to establish at least approximate dates of the early Kings of Iberia.

<sup>95</sup> 15.12.4 (*supra* n. 53)

<sup>96</sup> *Infra* § 14-15.

<sup>97</sup> Ananias 34.

<sup>98</sup> Arm. Agathangelus 120/842 (425): Եւ այսպէս ընդ ամենայն երկիրն Հայոց, ի ծագաց մինչև ի ծագս, ձգտէր տարածանէր զմշակութիւն քարոզութեանն և աւետարանութեանն. ի Սատաղացւոց քաղաքէն մինչև առ աշխարհաւն խաղտեաց, մինչև առ Կաղարջօք, մինչ ի սպառ ի սահմանս Մասքթաց, մինչև ի դրունս Աւանաց, մինչ ի սահմանս Կասպից, ի Փայտակարան քաղաք արքայութեանն Հայոց. և յԱմդացւոց քաղաքէն մինչև առ Մըծքին քաղաքաւ, քերէր առ սահմանօքն Ատորւոց առ նոր Շիրական երկրաւն, և առ Կորդուօք մինչև յամուր աշխարհն Մարաց: մինչև առ

## note 98 continued

ստաւրն Մահօր-Տան իշխանին, մինչև յԱսորպատական ձգտէր տարածանէր զաւետարանութիւնն իւր ('And thus he [St Gregory] spread wide the culture of preaching and evangelizing over the entire land of Armenia, from end to end, from the city of Satala to the country of Chaldia, to Cholarzene, to the very frontiers of Meschia to the Alan Gate, to the frontier of the Caspians, to P'aytakaran the city of the kingdom of Armenia; from the city of Amida to the city of Nisibis, he passed along the frontiers of Syria and the land of New Siracene and Corduene, to the fortified country of the Medes, to the domain of the Prince of Mahk'ert; to Atropatene he spread wide his evangelic labours'); Gk Agath. 153: *καὶ ἐν πάσῃ τῇ χώρᾳ τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἀπ' ἄκρου ἕως ἄκρων διέτεινεν τὴν ἐργασίαν τοῦ εὐαγγελικοῦ κηρύγματος ἀπὸ Σαταλῶν τῆς πόλεως μέχρι τῆς χώρας Χαλτῶν καὶ Καλαρσῶν, ἕως ὁρίων Μασαχοῦ τῶν Οὐννων, καὶ πυλῶν Κασπίων, καὶ μερῶν Ἀλανῶν καὶ Φατακαρᾶς πόλεως Ἀρμενίας βασιλέων, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Ἀμνηδηνῶν πόλεως μέχρι Νισίβεως παρὰ τὰ θρία τῆς Συρίας ἕως Νοσικάρων γῆς, καὶ Κορδοβιτῶν, καὶ τῆς ὀχυρωτάτης χώρας τῶν Μήδων, καὶ τοῦ οἴκου Μαχουρτῶν τοῦ ἀρχοντος καὶ μέχρι Ἀτραπατακᾶν, ἣτις καλεῖται Προχωρία κατὰ τὴν Περσικὴν γλῶτταν, ἐξέτεινε τὸ εὐαγγελικὸν κήρυγμα...* — Of the above limitrophe toponyms, some were within the Arsacid realm; others, like Chaldia, the Alan Gate, Syria, and Atropatene, were patently outside it. Satala, a city of Lesser Armenia, was within it, as is clear from Faustus 3.7.21. The term *Mask't'k'* is of interest. Faustus mentions it in connexion with the younger St Gregory's preaching in Albania (3.5-6); he also connects these neighbours (*Mazk't'k'*) of the Albanians with Huns; and describes (3.7) the invasion of Armenia by the *Mazk't'k'* and the Huns. This invasion is discussed very thoroughly by Trever, *Oč. po. ist. Alb.* 188-197. In this fourth-century invasion, Albania also seems to have participated. There can be no question that in this context the term *Mazk't'k'* can only refer to the Massagetae or Alans: Markwart and J. Messina, 'Die Entstehung der armenischen Bistümer,' *Oca* 27/2 (1932) 214-219; though Trever would, instead, identify them with the north-Caucasian Mazamaciae of Pliny 6.7.21. But, on the other hand, in the context of Agathangelus first in the above text, where it is mentioned next to Chaldia and Cholarzene, and then in 126/873 (= Gk Agath. 165), where it is used to describe the northern viceroyalty of Great Armenia, which included Cholarzene (*infra* § 14-15), the term in question must denote the Moschians: Markwart, *Erānsāhr* 168-169 (in *Genealogie* 33, however, Markwart reversed his opinion and spoke of 'dem Markhüter nach der Seite der Mask'ut'k', der Massageten oder Alenen'); Peeters, *Débuts* 21-23 (who went too far in the opposite direction and would see even in the *Mazk't'k'* of Faustus the Moschians and not the Massagetae); cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 212 and n. 1. With the memory of the great invasion just mentioned still relatively fresh, it would have been only too natural for the compiler, or copyist, of the Agathangelus to substitute the term *Mask't'k'* (indeed meaning the Massagetae) for whatever word had originally been used to designate the Moschians. The proximity of Gogarene, the most important part of the northern viceroyalty, to Albania must have made this substitution easy: that viceroyalty could be regarded as a bulwark of the Armenian Monarchy against any Albanian, no less than any Iberian, invasion. The Greek Agathangelus adds in both passages, under the influence of the same memory, or of the text of Faustus, the words *τῶν Οὐννων*. The reference to the Alan Gate (the Greek translation transposes here two toponyms and has: *καὶ πυλῶν Κασπίων, καὶ μερῶν Ἀλανῶν*: the confusion between the 'Caspians' and the 'Alan' Gates was widespread among the ancients: Trever 121-126, 214-216, 274-275; and so also one between 'Albani' and 'Alani') constitutes, I think, a proof of the equivalence *Mask't'k'* = Moschians. The passage in question assumes Armenian suzerainty over Iberia, which is the constant cosmo-

The Romano-Iranian treaty of 363, ceding to Iran the sovereign rights over the Caucasian kingdoms<sup>99</sup> coincided with a decline of the Arsacid Monarchy in Armenia and the consequent abandonment of it by the dynasts of the outlying regions. Thus, the northern vitaxate once again passed to Iberia, and so also, once again, Cholarzene. Though some of the secessionists were forced back to their original allegiance in 371, they definitively left it at the Partition of Armenia in 387.<sup>100</sup> It is, possibly, this that we find echoed in the Iberian historical tradition, recorded by Leontius of Ruisi, in the reference to a conflict between the King of Armenia and Bak'ar I, King of Iberia, who had succeeded his father, the first Christian King and founder of the Chosroid Dynasty, St Mirian III († 361).<sup>101</sup> From the same source we learn, further, that Bak'ar's successor Mithridates III constructed churches at T'ukharisi and elsewhere in Cholarzene.<sup>102</sup> Then, as Ammianus Marcellinus informs us, King Sauromaces of Iberia, a vassal of Rome, having been expelled by the Iranians and replaced by his cousin Aspacures, no doubt as a consequence of the treaty of 363, the Emperor Valens made an attempt to reassert Roman influence in Caucasia and to restore Sauromaces on the throne of Iberia. He was only half successful; and in 370 the kingdom was divided, along the Cyrus river, between the two cousins, Sauromaces reigning as Roman vassal in the south-

cratic thesis of the Gregorian Cycle; it thus makes Iberia's northermost limit, the Alan Gates, Armenia's own. Our passage, accordingly, traces the complete northern boundary of the Armenian Monarchy: Satala-Chaldia-Cholarzene-Moschica-Iberia (= the Alan Gates)-Caspiane (or P'aytakaran, with the chief city of that name). Cf. in this connexion Ptolemy 5.12.4: *παρὰ μὲν τὰ Μοσχικὰ ὄρη ἢ Καταρζηνή*. The distinction made thus between Iberia and the lands of Cholarzene and Moschica (= Tayk', Javaxet'i, and perhaps Artani) may be taken to indicate that, unlike Chaldia and the Alan Gate, they were within the Arsacid State. Otherwise, we must admit that Agathangelus is silent about the political allegiance of Cholarzene in the Arsacid period. — The above passage of Agathangelus was taken over by Ps. Moses 2.86 when he described the preaching of St Nino in Iberia 'from the land of Cholarzene to the Alan and Caspian Gate and to the land of the *Msk'f'k'*.' This passage borrowed, by an author in whose day (mid-eighth century) Cholarzene had long left Armenia for Iberia, Ingoroqva cites (420) as a proof that it had never been in Armenia. Ingoroqva would also argue the absence of Cholarzene from the Armenian realm from the silence of Ps. Moses about it in his list of the cantons of Gogarene (2.8). But he fails to see the distinction between Gogarene as a province (once a single dynastic State) — and it is of this that Ps. Moses speaks — and Gogarene in the sense of the viceroyalty of the north, including alien lands like Cholarzene, which is described by Ananias: *infra* § 14. We have seen a similar argument in Ingoroqva's endeavour to explain away the evidence of Strabo and Pliny: *supra* n. 93.

<sup>99</sup> II n. 5.

<sup>100</sup> For these Armenian events, see Adontz, *Armenija* 225-226; Grousset, *Histoire* 140-166 cf. Trever, *Oč. po ist. Alb.* 198-201; II n. 6.

<sup>101</sup> Leont. Mrov. 130. — For the dates of Mirian III, see IV/I § 9.

<sup>102</sup> Leont. Mrov. 131.

western realm and Aspacures, as Iranian vassal, in the north-eastern.<sup>103</sup> By 378, however, the Gothic menace had constrained the Roman government to abandon Sauromaces; his kingdom must have ceased to exist as Iberia passed, whole or nearly so, under the suzerainty of the Iranian emperor.<sup>104</sup> This is the situation reflected in Leontius's story of the replacement on the Iberian throne of the elder line of St Mirian's house (the family of his son Rev<sup>105</sup>) by the younger, represented by King Varaz-Bak'ar or Varaz-Bakur, i.e., Aspacures.<sup>106</sup> His being described as 'an impious (*urcmuno*) man and a hater of the faith' by Leontius<sup>107</sup> is significant: the term implied at that time Mazdaist religious sympathies;<sup>108</sup> and it must, in this case, connote also his Iranian political orientation. Leontius, indeed, then goes on to tell us of his becoming an Iranian vassal; that 'thereafter, the Armenians and the Iberians were tributaries of the Iranians'; and that, after this, Cholarzene revolted against him and passed to the Roman Empire, which occupied T'ukharisi and the entire duchy.<sup>109</sup> It is safe to assume that the historical tradition preserved by Leontius telescopes here several events: (1) the peace of 363 and the consequent Iranian overlordship in Armenia, Iberia, and Albania; (2) the adherence of Aspacures to a pro-Iranian policy; (3) the setting up of the pro-

<sup>103</sup> Amm. Marcell. 27.12; 30.2; cf. Stein, *Hist. du Bas-Emp.* I 187; Peeters, *Débuts* 39-40.

<sup>104</sup> Stein, *loc. cit.*

<sup>105</sup> Leont. Mrov. 129; cf. I n. 207.

<sup>106</sup> Leont. Mrov. 129-137 ('Varaz-Bak'ar'); *Roy. List* I 60 ('Varaz-Bakur': exceptionally, it gives what must be the more ancient form).

<sup>107</sup> Leont. Mrov. 135: ეხე ვარაზ-ბაქარ მეფე იყო კაცი ურწმუნო და მოძულე ხელისა.

<sup>108</sup> Cf. the near-contemporaneous Armenian use of *anawrēn* ('impious'): Peeters, *Ste Sousanik* 288.

<sup>109</sup> Leont. Mrov. 136-137: მაშინ ვარაზ-ბაქარ... განუგუეთა ზარგი, ზოლო ერიბთაგან სპარსთაგან მოხდა ფიხე ტფილისი და წარვიდა. და მიერითგან იქმნნეს ზომენი და ქართველნი სპარსთა მოზარგენი. და ამისა შემდგომად განდგეს გლარჯნი ვარაზ-ბაქარისაგან და მიერთნეს ბერძენთა. და დაიპყრეს ბერძენთა თუზარისი და ყოველი გლარჯეთი ზღვთგან არსიანთამდე. და დარჩა ვარაზ-ბაქარს ქართლი თენიერ გლარჯეთისა, და ჰერეთი და ეგრისი ('Then Aspacures... stooped to [pay] tribute, and the Iranian commander ceded to him the fortress of Tiflis and departed. Thereafter the Armenians and the Iberians were tributaries of the Iranians. And after that, the Cholarzenians seceded from Aspacures and joined the Byzantines; and the Byzantines seized T'uxarisi and entire Cholarzene from the sea to the Arsiani [mountains]. And Aspacures was left with Iberia without Cholarzene, and with Heret'i and Egrisi'). Juanšer 146 also records the loss of Cholarzene under Varaz-Bak'ar. The reference of Leont. Mrov. to Cholarzene as 'from the sea' is either an indication that the Iberian foothold on the Euxine littoral (*supra* at nn. 39-41) had indeed been maintained until this moment, or is another manifestation, together with the above statement that Varaz-Bak'ar-Aspacures still held Egrisi, of the perennial cosmocratic fiction of Iberian dominion over West Georgia (*supra* at n. 41).



Roman counter-kingdom in the south-west; and (4) the direct Roman control of Cholarzene established after the collapse of that counter-kingdom.

12. Despite the abortive attempt, early in the fifth century, reported by Leontius, of King Mithridates IV of Iberia to recover it,<sup>110</sup> Cholarzene remained severed from the kingdom until the reign of Vakhtang I Gorgasal (c. 446-522).<sup>111</sup> This sovereign effected a change in the political orientation of his Monarchy when, in the years 482-485, he broke with Iran and transferred his allegiance to the Roman Empire. Among the consequences of this was his marriage to the Princess Helena, a relative of the Emperor Zeno.<sup>112</sup> And it is in connexion with this marriage that our next informant, Juansher, the successor of Leontius of Ruisi in the line of the Iberian historiographers, records the retrocession of Cholarzene to Iberia.<sup>113</sup> A duke was then appointed to Cholarzene,<sup>114</sup>

<sup>110</sup> Leont. Mrov. 138.

<sup>111</sup> See IV/I § 5-9.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.* § 6 at n. 40. The Georgian source refers to the Imperial relative as the Emperor's 'daughter.'

<sup>113</sup> Juansher 177: და უკუშობსა გეიხარმან ხაზდგარი ქართლისა, ციხე თუნა-რისი და კლარჯეთი ყოველი, ზღუთგან ვიდრე არხიანთამდე, და გეგნი რღმ-ელნი მოხდგმანან დადოთა. და გამოიგითნა გეიხარმან ხაზდგარი ხაზდგარ-თისა, ქუეყანა ზღუხ პირისა, რღმელ არს აფხაზეთი, და რქუა ესრეთ: 'გერის წყლითგან ვიდრე მდინარედმდე მცირისი ხაზარეთისა — ესე ხაზდგარი და ხა-ზდგარეთისა აღექხანდრღობთგან, რღმელი აწ შენ მიგიღია მგლავითა ჩუენგან. აწ იგი უკუშობსუფ, და ოდეს წარიყვანებდე ცოლსა შენსა, ახულსა ჩემსა, მამინ მოგდე მიხგან ქუეყანა.' და დაუწერა გერის წყალსა და კლისურასა შუა ქუეყა-ნა ზითგად, და სხუა აფხაზეთი უკუხგა ვახტანგ ბერძენთა ('And the Emperor retroceded the frontier of Iberia: the castle of T'uxarisi and entire Cholarzene from the sea to the Arsiani [mountains], and the valleys which are neighbouring upon the Ġado [moun- tains]. And the Emperor made inquiries about the frontiers of the Empire [in] the land of the sea coast, which is Abasgia. And he said: "[The territory] from the Egris-river to the river of Little Khazaria has since [the days of] the invasion of Alexander been the frontier of the Empire, which thou hast now wrested from us. Now thou shalt restore it to us. And when thou shalt marry my daughter, then will I give to thee a land out of it." And he assigned to him as dowry the land between the Egris-river and the Klisura; and the rest [of] Abasgia Vaxtang ceded back to the Byzantines'); 198 (the marriage itself); cf. 203-205 (*infra* nn. 117, 119). — This text, again, speaks of 'entire Cholarzene from the sea to the Arsiani' either reflecting the historical truth or repeating a consecrated cosmocratic formula adopted for that region: cf. *supra*, nn. 41, 109. The valleys by the Ġado must refer to Samc'xe and Ačara (Šavšet'i and Nigali?), which appear later as a part of the Guaramid inheritance (*infra* n. 126, § 21) and which must have been lost — possibly in 378 — to the Empire. The river of Little Khazaria (mentioned also in Leont. Mrov. 5, as the northern limit of West Georgia) is the Hypanis or Kuban: Jav. 277, — obviously its high waters only. A considerable confu- sion can result from the fact that there have been two rivers named Egris-cqali and two, named Klisura. One pair was in the north, in Abkhazia of to-day; the other in the south, in Cholarzene: the southern Egris-river is now, in Turkish, Eger-su and the southern Klisura is a tributary of the Acampsis, now Klasuri (Klaskur-dereşi) in the region of Batum: Jav. 276;

who proceeded to restore the fortress of Artanuji, henceforth the capital of the duchy; the King restored also that of Akhiza and founded the Abbey of Opiza and a number of churches.<sup>115</sup> After 485, there was a bishop at Akhiza.<sup>116</sup> Finally, the Duchies of Cholarzene and Odzrkhe and the western moiety of the Duchy of Tsunda (Erushet'i) were formed into a sub-kingdom devolving upon the death of Vakhtang to his two younger sons, from his second, Byzantine, marriage, who ruled over the local dukes, and were entitled 'Arch-dukes,' while remaining vassals of Vakhtang's eldest son, by his first, Sassanid, wife, who succeeded him as King of Iberia. The latter, King Dach'i (522-534), who returned to Iranian allegiance, subsequently constrained his younger and sole surviving half-brother Mithridates, who was not only half-Byzantine, but also Byzantinophile, to exchange the part of Cholarzene bordering on the Empire for the eastern portion of the Duchy of Tsunda (Javakhet'i), reducing him to the position of one of the dukes.<sup>117</sup>

Gu. Map; USAF Chart 324 CII. The latter name is, of course, a derivative of the Byzantine term *κλεισούρα* (= *clausura*), i.e., a defile, which the Empire fortified along its frontiers: cf. Bréhier, *Institutions* 358 and n. 12; Chapot, *Euphrate* 373. Procopius speaks of Justinian's fortified *kleisurai* in Lazica, especially in the south: *De aed.* 3.7; *Bell. pers.* 2.29. The name, used by Juanšer *ex post facto*, must date from Justinian's day; its etymology must explain the homonymy in question. In the context with Cholarzene, it is obvious (*pace* Ingoroqva 127) that Juanšer means here the southern pair (as also 203-205: *infra* n. 117; whereas it is equally obvious that in reference to Abkhazia, Juanšer must refer to the northern pair: 235, 242). — Finally, for Alexander's invasion, see *supra* n. 36. It is interesting to observe the Roman imperial tradition traced, in the East Mediterranean mind, back to Alexander the Great. — Cf. IV/1 n. 32.

<sup>114</sup> Juanšer 177; Artavaz, Duke of Cholarzene is also mentioned 185-186, 204.

<sup>115</sup> Juanšer 178. — For Artanuji, see: Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De adm. imp.* cap. 46; Vax. 116-118; Jav. 331; Ingoroqva 361-376, 441, and (for Vaxtang's religious foundations) 303, 340-345, 376-378, and (map) 308; USAF Chart 324 C II (Ardanuç).

<sup>116</sup> Juanšer 198.

<sup>117</sup> Juanšer 203-205: და რქუა ძეხა თჳსხა დაჩიხ: 'შენ ხარ პირმშო შვილი ჩემი, შენდა მიმიცემია გვრგვნი მეფობისა ჩემისი, და ნაწილად ძმათა შენთა მიმიცემია ტახისგარიტგან და წუნდითგან ვიდრე სომხითამდე და საბერძნეთამდე, ხაზღვარი აფხაზეთისა, რომელი მოცემულ არს ეგრის-წყალსა და კლიხურასა შუა, იგი თათ ძმათა შენთა დედიხა არს, იგი აქუნდეს მათ, და იყვნენ შენდა ერისთავად მორჩილებასა ქუეშე ნათესავისა შენისა.' და მოუწოდა ნახარს, ერისთავსა წუნდისასა, და არტავაზს, ერისთავსა კლარჯეთისასა, და ბივრიტიანს, ერისთავსა ოძრგისასა, და მათ მიათულა ცოლი თჳსი ელენე და შვილნი მიხნი, რომელთა ერქუა ლეონ და მირდატ, და შეაგერნა მათ სამთავე ერისთავთა... და დაჯდა მეფედ ქე მიხი დაჩი ხაყდარსა მამისა თჳსისასა. სოლო ცოლი და ორნი ძენი ვახტანგისნი წარიყვანნეს სამთა მათ ერისთავთა, და დაიბჳრეს დახაგლეთი ქართლისა, რომელი მისცა ვახტანგ. და დასხდეს წუნდას ქალაქსა ზაფხულის, და სამთრის იყვნენ ოძრგეს. და არა ეწოდა მათ მეფედ, არამედ ერისთავთა-მთავრად, და იყვნეს მორჩილებასა ძმისა მათისა დაჩი მეფისასა... სოლო ორთავე მათგან ძეთა ვახტანგისთა, ნაშობთა



After Mithridates's nephew and successor Guaram I, this younger branch of the Chosroid royal house has been called in modern historiography the

ბერძნისა ცოლისათა, მოკუდა რომელსა ერქუა ლეონ, და დარჩა მირდატ  
 ოდეგნ. ამას მირდატს დაეგაჰრა მმა მიხი დაჩი: მეფემან გაუფავლა ქუეყანა,  
 და აღიღო მირდატისგან ეგრის-წყალსა და კლისურასა შუა, მირდატის დედუ-  
 ლი საზღვარი საბერძნეთისა, და მიხცა ნაცვლად ჯავახეთი დარავნიოგან  
 მტკურომდე, ტახისგარითგან ვიდრე სპერამდე; ერისთავობდა მუნ; და იყო  
 მოღრნილ<sup>ა</sup> მძიხა თჳსისა, დაჩი მეფისა... ('And [Vaxtang] said to his son Dač'i:  
 "Thou art my first-born son, to thee I have given the crown of my kingship, and to thy broth-  
 ers, as their portion, I have given [the territory] from Tasiskari and Cunda to Armenia  
 and the Empire [and] the frontier of Abasgia which is ceded [to us] between the Egris-river  
 and the Klisura: it is [the property] if thy brothers' mother, it belongs to them, and let them  
 be thy dukes in obedience to thy line." And he summoned Nasar, Duke of Cunda, and Ar-  
 tavaz, Duke of Cholarzene, and Bivritian, Duke of Ojrx, and entrusted to them his wife  
 Helen and her sons, who were called Leo and Mithridates, and committed them to the three  
 dukes ... And Dač'i his son ascended his throne as king. But the wife and two sons of Vax-  
 tang were conducted by the three dukes, and took possession of the west of Iberia, which  
 Vaxtang had given them. And in Summer they resided in the city of Cunda, and in Winter  
 moved to Ojrx. And they were styled not kings, but arch-dukes, and were obedient to their  
 brother King Dač'i ... But of the two sons of Vaxtang, born of the Byzantine wife, [he] who  
 was called Leo died and only Mithridates remained. With Mithridates, his brother Dač'i  
 made a transaction: the King exchanged lands, he seized from Mithridates his mother's  
 domain on the frontier of the Empire, between the Egris-river and the Klisura, and gave  
 him instead Javaxet'i from [lake] P'anavari to the Cyrus [and] from Tasiskari to Syspiritis;  
 he was duke there; and he was obedient to his brother, King Dač'i ...'). — Q (a) has: და  
 დაჰდა საყდარსა მიხსა მე მიხი დაჩი ('And his son [Dač'i] ascended the throne').  
 — (b) adds: დაიბჳრა მირდატ, მემან განტანგისმან, დარავნიოგან და ('Mithri-  
 dates, son of Vaxtang possessed himself of [the land] from P'anavari and'); the redundant  
 character of this phrase suggests that it is an interpolation. — (c) has: ზღუამდე სპერისა,  
 და ('to the Sea of Syspiritis'), an obvious impossibility. — (d) has: დაჩი მეფისა, მძიხა  
 თჳსისა ('King Dač'i, his brother'). — The first concession of the appanage involved the  
 Duchies of Ojrx and Cholarzene and the western moiety (West Javaxet'i = Erušet'i) of  
 that of Cunda; the capital of the latter, Cunda-city having been, according to Leont. Mrov.  
 17, on the Cyrus; or slightly east of it: Vax. 98 (Cuna). To this was added the western strip  
 of territory on the frontier of Cholarzene and the Empire, which Queen Helena had brought  
 as her dowry. The second concession involved the loss of the last-named territory and the  
 acquisition of the remaining portion of the Duchy of Cunda, i.e., East Javaxet'i proper.  
 In its final form, thus, the Guaramid State comprised the above three duchies. At the be-  
 ginning of the above passage, Vaxtang is reported to have decreed that the two young prin-  
 ces be dukes in their appanage, under the authority of their elder brother. Yet they were  
 entrusted, presumably because still under age, to the care of the dukes of these three units,  
 who then conducted them and their mother thither. But in the middle of the above passage,  
 these two brothers are said to have been styled 'not kings, but arch-dukes.' The text,  
 beginning with 'And Dač'i his son ascended ...' belongs to the second part of Juanšer's  
 work coming from the pen of Juanšer himself, whereas the earlier part (HVG), dealing with  
 Vaxtang and his predecessors, appears to have been written originally by an anonymous  
 chronicler of Ujarma and merely incorporated by Juanšer in his work. This must account

'Guaramid'.<sup>118</sup> In ancient historiography, the Guaramids were known as Princes of Cholarzene and of Javakhet'i.<sup>119</sup> By 561, this house had passed under the aegis of the Roman Empire and may have acquired the part of Cholarzene once taken by King Dach'i.<sup>120</sup> As a manifestatoin of pro-Roman sentiments, Guaram I took part in the revolt of the Armenian Princes against Iranian overlordship, begun in 572, which precipitated two decades of war between the Roman and the Iranian empire. In the course of that war, the Iberian Monarchy was abolished and the Chosroid Dynasty dispossessed, in 580; and, then in 588, the whole of Iberia returned to the Roman orbit. In that year, the Emperor Maurice inaugurated an institution that proved of moment in subsequent Iberian, and indeed Caucasian, history, when he appointed the

for the slight discrepancy in titles: whereas the first part is less precise about them, Juanšer, himself a scion of the Chosroids, displays a nice distinction between the title of the two royal princes in the lifetime of their father, that of Mithridates under Dač'i, and that of their descendants the Guaramids, for which, see *infra* at n. 119. 'Archduke' translates *erist'avar*, which can also mean 'prince of dukes': IV/II n. 19. They were, thus, suzerains of the three dukes, which explains their coexistence; in this way, the statement of the first part of Juanšer's History is fully corroborated and explained by one in the second part. But under Dač'i, Mithridates lost that quasi-kingly status and became an ordinary duke in his three duchies; thereafter, indeed, there is no mention in the sources of any other incumbents of the three ducal offices. It seems that the two 'Arch-dukes' reigned jointly. — The chronology and political situation of Dač'i's reign are treated in IV/I § 8-9.

<sup>118</sup> Cf. *ibid.* § 16 at n. 1.

<sup>119</sup> Juanšer 217: და ნათესავნი მირდატიხნი, ვახტანგის ძიხანი, რომელნი მთავრობდეს კლარჯეთს და ჯავახეთს, იგინი დარჩეს კლდეთა შინა კლარჯეთისათა ('And the family of Mithridates, son of Vaxtang, who were princes in Cholarzene and in Javakhet'i, remained in the rocks of Cholarzene'); 218: მაშინ კეისარმა აღაბრუნა თხოვა მათი, და მოსცა მისიწული მირდატიხი, ვახტანგის ძიხა, ბერძენთა მეფისა ასული[ხა], რომელსა ერქუა გუარამ, რომელი მთავრობდა კლარჯეთს და ჯავახეთს ('Caesar thereupon fulfilled their wish. And he gave them the son of the brother of Mithridates, Vaxtang's son by the Byzantine princess, who was named Guaram [and] who was prince of Cholarzene and in Javakhet'i': cf. IV/II at n. 4). — It was a sign of the weakening of the monarchical principle in Iberia and the consequent revival of dynasticism that the holders of dukedoms preferred to style themselves Princes; the Guaramid of Arč'il's day 'who held Cholarzene and Javakhet'i' (რომელსა ჰქონდა კლარჯეთი და ჯავახეთი) was one of the dukes of Iberia (ერისთავთა ქართლისათა): Juanšer 241.

<sup>120</sup> Juanšer 207: მიერითგან განიყვნეს ნათესავნი ვახტანგ მეფისანი. რამეთუ შვილნი დაჩიხნი ჰმორჩილობდეს ხპარხთა, ხელელ შვილნი მირდატიხნი დაადგრეს მორჩილებასა ბერძენთასა ('Thereafter the House of King Vaxtang became divided, for the children of Dač'i obeyed the Iranians, but the children of Mithridates remained in the obedience of the Byzantines'). In these circumstances, Dač'i and his successors were cut off from the Roman frontier of Cholarzene by the Romanophile State of the Guaramids; yet that strip of territory was not annexed to the Empire until later (*infra* n. 123); it must, thus, have reverted to the Guaramids. — 'Children,' obviously, is used here in the sense of 'family,' for Mithridates was succeeded by his nephew Guaram: *supra* n. 119.

Romanophile Guaram I to be the Presiding Prince of Iberia.<sup>121</sup> This office was filled by the Guaramids in the years 588-627, 684 - c.748, c.780-786.<sup>122</sup> In the vicissitudes of this epoch of the Principate, the Empire once again acquired the frontier of Cholarzene.<sup>123</sup>

13. Meanwhile the Sassanid Monarchy had collapsed under the blows of Islam and been succeeded by the empire of the Caliphs, which, like it, was to exercise, or to claim, sovereign rights over Armenia, Iberia, and Albania, and to struggle over them with the empire of the Caesars. As before, Caucasia was rent between rival empires and made to pay in blood for unsuccessful revolts against each. Thus, the year 786 witnessed especially severe measures of repression directed by the Caliph's viceroy of Caucasia Khuzaima ibn Khāzim against the Caucasian dynasts, leaders of an unrest that threatened to involve the Caliphate's perennial foes the Khazars. The result of these measures was the extinction of the Guaramids and the near-extinction of the Chosroids. Their inheritance was then gathered by a branch of the Armenian Bagratids.<sup>124</sup>

The founder of the Iberian branch of the Bagratids was Adarnase, son of Vasak (son of Ashot III, Prince of the Bagratids and Presiding Prince of Armenia) and of a Guaramid princess, who removed, following the disaster of 772, to Cholarzene, to the Court of his Guaramid cousins, and, subsequently, acquired the lands of Erushet'i (West Javakhet'i) and of Artani.<sup>125</sup> Then, sometime between 786 and 807, Adarnase came in possession of his part of the Guaramid inheritance. This included, it has already been noted, parts of Tao and also the three duchies. The two surviving Chosroids were coheirs with him. Their subsequent disappearance left Adarnase, and at all events his son Ashot I the Great, in full mastery of the entire Guaramid State.<sup>126</sup>

<sup>121</sup> IV/II.

<sup>122</sup> IV/III § 19, 29.

<sup>123</sup> Juanšer 226: მაშინ კუალად წარიდგებ პერმენტა ხანდვარი ქართლისა: ზბერო და ბოლო კლარჯეთისა, ზღვს პირო. და შვილნი სტეფანოზისნი დარჩებ კლდეთა შინა კლარჯეთისათა... ('Then the Byzantines again seized the frontier of Iberia: Syspiritis and the extremity of Cholarzene: the sea coast. And the sons of Stephen [I the Chosroid] remained in the rocks of Cholarzene...') The reference to Syspiritis may suggest its belonging to Iberia, but this is vitiated by other evidence: *supra* n. 117; III/II n. 76. That to the sea coast is, of course, another instance of an ancient pretension; cf. *supra* nn. 41, 109, 113.

<sup>124</sup> IV/IV § 34-35.

<sup>125</sup> III/III esp. at nn. 21, 51; *Bagr. of Iber.* I No. 1.

<sup>126</sup> IV/IV § 34-35; the source is *Chron. Iber.* 251 (*ibid.* n. 28). The list it gives of the lands acquired by Adarnase corresponds to the Guaramid State, with the omission of Samc'xe and Javaxet'i and with the addition of Lower Tao and Asisp'ori = Arm. Arseac'-p'or (Ananias 35), situated between the Acampsis and the T'ort'omi river in Upper Tao: Hübschmann

14. Finally, there is the problem of Gogarene. Here, possibly more than in the case of Tao and of Cholarzene, the problem is complicated by two factors: conflict of claims and controls and toponymical ambivalence. Strabo (11.14.5) is the first to mention this region, in connexion with the Artaxiad wresting of it, together with Tao and Cholarzene, from Iberia; and he states that it lay on the far side of the Cyrus.<sup>127</sup> This can mean that, in contradistinction to the other two lands situated to the west of the river, Gogarene lay to the east of it. Elsewhere (11.14.4), Strabo shows it situated west of Albania and Sacasene.<sup>128</sup> Ptolemy, on his part, mentions Gogarene (5.12.4) as lying next to Otene.<sup>129</sup> Finally, Ananias of Siracene describes Gogarene (Gugark') as being in the west of Otene and as comprising the following cantons: Dzorop'or, Kolbap'or, Tsobap'or, Tashir, T'relk' (= T'rialet'i), Kankark', Upper Jovakhk' (*sic*: — Javakhk'-Javakhet'i), Artahan (= Artani), and Kalarjk' (*sic*: — Kłarjk'-Klarjet'i, i.e., Cholarzene).<sup>130</sup> The last of the three 'gorges' mentioned at the beginning of the list is the valley of the Berduji-Debeda, the others are, in reverse order, those of the tributaries of the Cyrus east of it: the Inja and the Ałstev (now Aqstafa).<sup>131</sup> Kankark', which the same Ananias calls elsewhere Gankark',<sup>132</sup> is the Kangark' of Laza-

*Ortsnamen* 360. T'aqaišvili (*Chronology* 22) takes it for granted that Asisp'ori was Ispiri. This, apart from the philological impossibility, is to disregard completely the historical context. Ispiri-Syspiritis was separated from Asisp'ori-Arseac'p'or by the region of Kalmaksi which came to be a principedom (probably together with Syspiritis) of the Armenian Bagratids, Adarnase's cousins, precisely at the time when he removed to Iberia. It was then unquestionably a part of Armenia with which either the Guaramids or the Chosroids had absolutely nothing to do. As late as in 837, Syspiritis belonged to the Armenian Bagratids: *Asolik* 2.6. — The lands in Tao that the Guaramids had acquired before Adarnase inherited them, they must have acquired following the dispossession of the Mamikonids after 772 and simultaneously with the Bagratid penetration there: *supra* § 8 at nn. 63-64; § 9 at nn. 74-77. — Same'xe and Javaxet'i appear in the possession of Adarnase's posterity: *infra* § 21 ff.

<sup>127</sup> *Supra* n. 46.

<sup>128</sup> ... ὁ Ἀράξης ποταμὸς ῥέων εἰς τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Ἀλβανίας καὶ τὴν Κασπίαν ἐκπίπτει θάλασσαν. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἡ Σακασσηνή, καὶ αὐτὴ τῇ Ἀλβανίᾳ πρόσχωρος καὶ τῷ Κύρῳ ποταμῷ, εἰθ' ἡ Γωγαρηνή. Sacasene = Šakašen/Šikašen/Aršakašen, a canton of Otene, the region of Ganja: Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 352-353.

<sup>129</sup> *Supra* n. 53.

<sup>130</sup> Ananias 34; cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 353-357.

<sup>131</sup> Cobap'or = Berduji valley: Markwart *Skizzen* 28; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 353-354, does not give the Georgian equivalent; this canton was also called K'urd-Vačris-xevi in Georgian, Bor, alu by the Muslims: Vax. 138. — Kolbap'or = Inja valley: Minorsky, 'Transcaucasica,' JA. Juillet-Septembre 1930 77 n. 1, 97; Hübschmann 354 (no Georgian equivalent); — Jorap'or = Aqstafa valley: Hübschmann 353, 355, 370; Markwart 28.

<sup>132</sup> Ananias 28.

rus and Pseudo-Moses: the mountainous region south of Tashir.<sup>133</sup> The historical tradition preserved by Pseudo-Moses gives a somewhat shorter list of the lands composing Gogarene. According to him (2.8), Kangark', a moiety of Javakhk', Kolb, Tsob, Dzor, Ashots' (= Abots'i), and Tashir were appanages of the House of Gushar, a scion of the divine dynasty of the mythical primogenitor of the Armenians, Hayk.<sup>134</sup> Since Pseudo-Moses knew only the second — Mihranid — dynasty of the Vitaxae of Gogarene, he represented the Vitaxae themselves as of a different — indeed Iranian — origin<sup>135</sup> from that of the Haykids who had, originally allotted to them, all the Gogarenian lands. Pseudo-Moses includes among these Ashots', which Ananias assigns to the province of Ayrarat;<sup>136</sup> he, on the other hand, excludes the Georgian lands of Artani, T'rialet'i, and Cholarzene.

Now the term Gogarene can be understood in one of several senses. Gogarene was ruled by a prince, styled Vitaxa, who exercised viceregal rights on the Iberian frontier of the Monarchy of Great Armenia.<sup>137</sup> In dealing with the four margravian viceroyalties of Great Armenia, it is important to distinguish between — occasionally — three concentric and homonymous but unequal unities: the nucleal principality, the province where other principalities may exist side by side with and in dependence on it, and the viceroyalty that may on occasion outspread the province.<sup>138</sup> We may assume, accordingly, the essential difference between the two lists to be one between the viceroyalty — Gogarene in its broadest sense which applied also to alien lands like Cholar-

<sup>133</sup> Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 354, 356. — Kangark' appears for the first time in the Georgian sources, in the *Chron. Iber.* 306, on the occasion of Alp-Arslan's attack on Georgia in 1060.

<sup>134</sup> Ps. Moses 2. 8: *իսկ Գուշարայ, որ յորդուցն Շարայի, ժառանգեաց զլեռան մթին, որ է Կանգարք, և զկէս մասինն Զաւախաց, զԿողբ, զԾոր, զԶոր՝ մինչև ցամուրն Հնարակերտ : Բայց զաւերութիւնն Աշոցայ, և զսեպհականութիւնն Տաշրայ՝ կարգէ վաղարշակ ՚ի զաւակացն Գուշարայ հայկազնոյ* ('Gušar, of the sons of Šara, inherited the bleak mountain which is Kangark' and a half of Jawaxk', Kolb, Cob, Jor, to the fortress of Hnarakert. As for the lordship of Ašoc' and the appanage of Tašir Vologases bestowed [them also] upon the children of Gušar the Haykid'). — For Hnarakert, see *infra* n. 211.

<sup>135</sup> See, for the Vitaxae of Gogarene and the Mihranid origin of their Second Dynasty, II § 10-11; *infra* § 16-18.

<sup>136</sup> *Geography* (the short version) 610; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 365.

<sup>137</sup> II § 10-11; for the title of Vitaxa, § 5.

<sup>138</sup> Cf. the case of the Vitaxa of Arzanene (*ibid.* § 9), at once Prince of the nucleal canton of Aljn and of (most of) the province of Arzanene (Aljnik'), entitled Vitaxa of Arzanene, and exercising viceregal control over the Arabian March which included, besides Arzanene, the Princes of (the province of) Moxoene (Mokk') and of Corduene (Korduk') in the province of Gordyene (Korčēk').



zene, Artani, and T'rialet'i — and the province — Gogarene in a less broad sense. It is in the latter sense that Strabo used it, since he considered Cholarzene as distinct from Gogarene. Both these senses represent the feudal-administrative aspect of Armenian society and were expressed in the title of Vitaxa; in its narrow sense of a princely State, Gogarene expressed the dynastic aspect of that society.

In this latter sense, Gogarene appears, in the earliest Armenian documents, as much smaller than the homonymous province. Dzor and Kolb are mentioned, in the fourth century, as separate principalities in the pages of Faustus; Ashot's and Tashir, a century later, in those of Lazarus.<sup>139</sup> The direct sovereignty of the Vitaxae, their nucleal principality, seems thus reduced to Kangark' and the valley of the Berduji-Debeda (Tsobap'or). The question of a section of Javakhet'i, mentioned in both lists, is a difficult one. It lay decidedly on the Iberian side of the mountainous frontier between the two countries; yet, exactly as the Iberians passed beyond that frontier in annexing Ashot's and Tashir, the Armenians appear to have occupied a part of Javakhet'i. However, it is unclear whether this region was under Vitaxa's sovereignty or was only a dependency, with its own, possibly Iberian, ruler.

The State of Tashir is remembered by Pseudo-Moses (2.8) as an 'appanage'; and indeed, before its emergence as a State, by the middle of the fifth century, it appears, in Koriun's narrative, to have been a part, if not indeed then the centre, of the Vitaxa's dominions; it can, accordingly, have only been a secundo-geniture of the House of Gogarene.<sup>140</sup> Now the above passage of Pseudo-Moses bears witness to the fact that, in the historical memory of the Armenians, all the lands of the province of Gogarene constituted one unit belonging to the Haykid House of Gushar, a particular branch of the divine dynasty of Armenia. This suggests that, in actual fact, these lands must at one time or another have formed a dynastic unit, that is, one princely State. We may assume, then, that Ashots', Dzor, and Kolb, no less than Tashir, were appanages of the House of Gogarene and that its original dynastic State was conterminous with the later unit: the province of Gogarene.

15. Of the lands of which Gogarene was composed, in its broadest sense, Tsob(ap'or), Kolb(ap'or), Dzor(ap'or), and Kangark' were never claimed as Georgian by the Iberian historical tradition dealing with these early centuries. Tashir and Ashots', admitted by it to be originally non-Georgian, were momentarily annexed to Iberia by the early Pharnabazids. Finally, Javakhet'i, T'rialet'i, Artani, and Cholarzene, claimed by that tradition as originally Georgian, appear at one time or another to have been parts of the Armenian

<sup>139</sup> Faustus 3.12; 4.50; Lazarus 23, 43, 47; also Eliseus 8(251).

<sup>140</sup> II n. 199.

vice-royalty of the North. These shifts of claims and control reflect the vicissitudes of the history of the Armeno-Georgian marchlands, and especially of this, eastern, section of them. This history must now be briefly surveyed.

The Pharnabazid expansionism resulting in the acquisition of Ashots' and Tashir — the latter possibly then the nucleus of Gogarene — has already been mentioned.<sup>141</sup> Then, in its turn, came the Artaxiad expansion northwards. Strabo, we know, mentions the Armenian wresting of Gogarene, and other territories, from Iberia.<sup>142</sup> But in the case of Gogarene, he can not, obviously, be referring here to all of it as wrested from Iberia, for many of its lands had never been parts of that country. Ashots' and Tashir were doubtless among the lands that the Artaxiads then recovered; probably already then also the eastern part of Javakhet'i passed to them; Artani, since Strabo speaks of Gogarene as being across the Cyrus from Tao and Cholarzene, must have been annexed, too. Of T'rialet'i, as yet we hear nothing; and Cholarzene was still distinct from Gogarene in Strabo's day. On the other hand, Tsobap'or, Kolbap'or, Dzorap'or, and Kangark' were purely Armenian lands. In the Artaxiad Monarchy, the newly recovered and conquered lands and other border territories were organized as the viceroyalty of the northern frontier, which was styled the Moschic March and was placed under the Prince of Gogarene with the title of Vitaxa.<sup>143</sup> The Iberian historical tradition may be reporting a reaction to this on the part of the Kings of Iberia when it records that Artaxias I, though indeed a son of the King of Armenia, strengthened the Iberian defences and especially the fortress of Tsunda, which, if eastern Javakhet'i had indeed been taken by the Armenians, must have become Iberia's frontier fortress.<sup>144</sup>

When, in the first half of the first century, the Armenian Monarchy had entered a period of decline, it was Iberia's turn to set up its control over the disputed marchlands. Recent archaeological evidence shows the Vitaxae of this period as Iberian vassals.<sup>145</sup> Simultaneously, Cholarzene, too, reverted to the King of Iberia.<sup>146</sup> It is only natural that the Iberian Crown should have detached from its new vassals, the Vitaxae, those lands which had originally been under its own control, namely, Tashir and Ashots', (East) Javakhet'i and Artani. Pliny (6.11.29) is unambiguous about this.<sup>147</sup> That his *Thasie et Thria-*

<sup>141</sup> *Supra* at nn. 37 and 140.

<sup>142</sup> *Supra* n. 46.

<sup>143</sup> *Supra* n. 137.

<sup>144</sup> Leont. Mrov. 30. For the King's name — Aršak in the text — see I n. 103. For the location of Gunda-city: *supra* n. 117. Cf. *infra* n. 149.

<sup>145</sup> II Appendix A 1.

<sup>146</sup> *Supra* at n. 94.

<sup>147</sup> *Supra* n. 54.

re stand for Tashir and T'rialet'i, seems rather difficult to doubt; and their prolongation to Mt Paryadres must of necessity have included Javakhet'i (or only the eastern part of it) and Artani. All this, in Pliny's day, was in Iberia.

With the recovery of strength by the Armenia of the Arsacids, in the second half of the first century, Gogarene, like Cholarzene, returned to the Armenian obedience. Both, for Ptolemy (5.12.4) and the Gregorian Cycle, were parts of Armenia; and so also the former in Faustus.<sup>148</sup> This must, unquestionably, have involved also the return to Armenia of Ashots' and Tashir. At all events, the Iberian historical tradition itself testifies to the settling up of Armenian control even in Javakhet'i and Artani. It records, accordingly, that the Armenians captured Tsunda-city and Artani 'to the Cyrus';<sup>149</sup> that they even penetrated Odzrkhe;<sup>150</sup> and that they retroceded Tsunda-city, Javakhet'i, and Artani to Iberia only in exchange for a formal recognition of Armenian suzerainty.<sup>151</sup> It, then, goes on to record, as at the end of the second cen-

<sup>148</sup> *Supra* nn. 53, 98; II § 5.

<sup>149</sup> Leont. Mrov. 44: და მოუღღო ხაზდგარსა ქართლისაჲსა ქალაქა წუნდა და არტანი მტკვრამდე. და დახზნა წუნდას შინა კაცნი მკეცნი... ('And [the King of Armenia] wrested from him [*scil.* the King of Iberia] the Iberian frontier: the city of Cunda and Artani to the Cyrus, and placed in Cunda brutal men ...'). — The King of Armenia is called Iarvand, for whom see III/I § 4; 2 § 10. — The reference to Cunda-city as lying in the Iberian frontier land may be an indication that Artani, in part at least, and a part of Javakhet'i had already fallen in Armenian hands before the events recorded here: cf. *supra* at n. 144.

<sup>150</sup> Leont. Mrov. 45-49: the epic of Sumbat Bivritiani, for whom, see III/II § 10. In the course of Sumbat's operations in Iberia, he penetrated the Duchy of Ojrxē and raised there, at Demot'i near the Ġado, the fortress of Samc'xe (esp. p. 47). This would have been the first Bagratid penetration into the Iberian sphere. Sumbat's family seems to have remained in Iberia down to the reign of Vaxtang I, as Dukes of Ojrxē: *ibid.*

<sup>151</sup> Leont. Mrov. 49: და აღდგეს მათ შორის მოციქულნი და დაიზავნეს; მიხედეს ქართველთა მე მეფისა შეპყრობილი, და აღუთქუეს შეწევნა ეზრეთ., და ეხეცა აღუთქუეს ქართველთა, ვითარმედ: «ქალაქსა ამას ჩვენსა დრამა არტაშან მეფისა ხატიოთა დავსცეთ». ზოლო ამითჲს ზომენთა უკმობეს ხაზდგარი ქართლისა, ქალაქი წუნდა და ციხე დემოთისა, ჯავახეთი და არტანი ('The ambassadors came up and they made peace: the Iberians released the captive king's son and promised their aid, as follows ... [stipulations regarding the number of auxiliary troops to be sent to Armenia] ... and the Iberians also promised as follows: "we shall in our city strike coins with the effigy of King Artasān." And, in return, the Armenians retroceded the frontier of Iberia, the city of Cunda and the Demot'i castle, Javakhet'i and Artani'). — King Artasān stands in Iberian historiography for Axedares of Armenia (c. A.D. 110): III/I § 4. — The reference to Armenian suzerainty in this passage may be not so much to that of the King of Armenia over Iberia — this, the Iberian historical tradition amply concedes elsewhere: Leont. Mrov. 44, 63, so that there seems to have been no need to affirm it once again at this juncture — but rather, in this somewhat disguised way, to the establishment of the Vitaxa's control over the whole of Artani and, so it seems, the whole of Javakhet'i (cf. *supra* n. 149). The retrocession of these lands here mentioned is another



tury, a revolt, against the King of Iberia and upon an understanding with the King of Armenia, of the Dukes of Odzrkhe, Cholarzene, and Tsunda.<sup>152</sup> It must indeed have been only at this time, after Ptolemy, who, like Strabo, still knew the two territories as distinct, that Cholarzene was included in the Vitaxate of Gogarene. It disappears from the Iberian historical tradition until the fourth century; it is included by Ananias of Siracene among the Gogarenian regions; and the historian Juansher projects upon the contemporary Armenian rulers in the vicinity the Gogarenian title of Vitaxa.<sup>153</sup> The House of Gogarene, however, seems to have weakened itself by internal division, and there appeared the separate princely States of Dzor and Kolb and, subsequently, of Ashots' and Tashir.<sup>154</sup>

In the fourth century, Armenia again declined and Iberia again regained control of the marchlands. After 363-387, the Vitaxae of Gogarene passed, for the last time, under the suzerainty of the Kings of Iberia.<sup>155</sup> This time,

way of saying that, while admitting the political control of the Vitaxa, these lands continued to enjoy, exactly as the Armenian princedoms within the viceroyalty, an autonomous existence. In fact, the Iberian lands of the Vitaxate might even entertain simultaneously lord-vassal relations with the Iberian Crown; see, for the instance of such a dual — Armenian-Roman — control in the Syrian March, II at n. 91.

<sup>152</sup> Leont. Mrov. 57: მამონ განდგეს ერისთავნი დასავლეთისანი ზუთნი: ორნი ერისთავნი ეგრისაბანი, ერთი ოძრკისა, ერთი კლარჯეთისა და ერთი წუნდისა. ეზრანნეს ესე ხომეწთა მეფესა, და ითხოვეს ძე მიხი მეფედ, რამეთუ დიხწული იყო ამასახპიხი. ('Then the five western dukes revolted: the two dukes of Egrisi, the Duke of Ojrx, he of Cholarzene, and he of Cunda. They came to an understanding with the King of Armenia and asked him for his son as king, because he was the son of Amasaspes's sister'). — The reference to the two dukes in Egrisi is the traditional expression of the perennial Iberian claim to control West Georgia (*supra* nn. 41, 109), and can be disregarded here. The story, to be sure, is, on the face of it, one of an internal revolt involving a change of kings with the aid of neighbouring Armenia, not of a secession from Iberia. It is interesting however, that, in the phrase that just precedes the above passage, King Amasaspes is accused of having become hostile to the Armenians (*de mter ik'mna igi somex'a*).

<sup>153</sup> *Supra* n. 64.

<sup>154</sup> *Supra* at n. 139.

<sup>155</sup> Faustus 4.50; 5.15; Leont. Mrov. 70, confirms this, though assigning erroneously the event to the epoch of the conversion of Iberia (A.D. 337), when he speaks of an accord, arranged by the first Christian Emperor, between St Mirian of Iberia and St Tiridates the Great of Armenia, according to which 'the lands of which the rivers flow southwards and join the Araxes shall be on Tiridates's side; and the land of which the rivers flow northwards and join the Cyrus be on Mirian's side' (რომელთა ქუეყანათა მდინარენი დიან ხა-მწრეთით და მიერთვიან რაგსსა, ესე ქუეყანანი თრდატის კერმად დაყარნა; და რომლისა ქუეყანისა მდინარენი ჩრდილოთ დიან და მიერთვიან მტკვარ-სა, ესე მირიანის კერმად დაყარნა). This Iberian acquisition of territory included, obviously, Gogarene with Ašoc' and Tašir, but in view of the insistence of the Iberian historical tradition (*infra* nn. 192-193) on the Berduji river as the eastern frontier of Iberia, Kolbap'or and Jorap'or must not have been included in it: *infra* § 19 at n. 201. In the following century Ašoc' and Tašir were back in the Armenian sphere: *supra* at n. 139.

the change of allegiance was connected with the change of dynasty in both States.

16. It has been accepted, on the basis of rather convincing evidence, that the Iberian royal dynasty of the Chosroids, the first sovereign of which, St Mirian III († 361), was also the first Christian King of Iberia (in 337), was a branch of the Iranian princely house of Mihrān, one of the Seven Great Houses of the empire, and not, as alleged in the historical tradition of Iberia, of the imperial dynasty of the Sassanids. On the basis of this evidence, it must likewise be accepted that P'eroz, the founder of the Second Dynasty of Gogarene, belonged to the same family as St Mirian, whose son-in-law he also was.<sup>156</sup> P'eroz, according to Leontius of Ruisi, made two successive territorial acquisitions: he received first from his father-in-law 'the land from Khunani to Bardavi, on both banks of the Cyrus',<sup>157</sup> and, then, Mirian's son Bak'ar I made him exchange that for 'the lands flanking the line from Samshvilde to the beginning of Abots'i'.<sup>158</sup> Juansher, in his turn, mentions the eighth-century Vitaxa reigning in T'rialet'i, Tashiri, and Abots'i, who was of the House of P'eroz.<sup>159</sup> This Mihranid House of P'eroz, the new dynasty of Gogarene, was, obviously, distinct from the Vitaxae revealed in the sources prior to the fourth

<sup>156</sup> II § 11 at nn. 181-199; *infra* n. 174.

<sup>157</sup> Leont. Mrov. 68-69: და მოციგვანა ზპარხეთით თჳსი მიხი, ნათესავი მეფეთა, ხაზელთ ფეროზ... და ამაჲ ფეროზს მიხგა მირიან ახული თჳსი ცოლად და მიხგა ქუეყანა ზუნანითგან ბარდაგამდე, მტკუარსა ღრიგე გერძი, და დაადგინა იგი ერისთავად მუნ ('And he brought from Iran a kinsman, of the house of the kings, named P'eroz .. and to this P'eroz Mirian gave his daughter as wife and gave him the land from Xunani to Bardavi, on both banks of the Cyrus, and set him up there as duke'); cf. also 71, 117, 130. The two terms of P'eroz's territory were two cities: Bardavi or Partaw, the capital of Albania, and the homonymous chief place of the duchy in question, which was situated on its north-eastern boundary: *infra* § 19; and the territory 'from Xunani' need not have involved any part of the duchy.

<sup>158</sup> Leont. Mrov. 130-131: გაუცვალა ქუეყანა დიხ-ქმარსა<sup>a</sup> მიხსა ფეროზს, რომელსა აქუნდა რანი ბარდაგამდის მიცემულად მირიანისგან, და მიხგა მის წილ ხამშელდითგან მიღმართ ქუეყანანი ვიდრე თავადმდე აბოცისა. მაშინდა ნათელ-იღო ფეროზ და ერმან მიხმან ('he made an exchange with his brother-in-law P'eroz, who had received from Mirian Albania to Bardavi; and he gave him instead the lands flanking [the line] from Samshvilde to the beginning of Aboc'i. Then P'eroz and his men accepted baptism'). — a. A<sup>a</sup> has: მიხი ძეხა; others have: და ზიძეხა: Q conjectures: დიხიძეხა ('sister's son'), all of which is impossible; the text makes it clear that this was the same P'eroz who had married Mirian's daughter (*supra* n. 157). Elsewhere he is called Mirian's ზიძე ('son-in-law'): Leont. Mrov. 125.

<sup>159</sup> Juansher 241: მეორე მიხგა პატიარშსა, ნათესავსა ფეროზისსა, რომელი მთავრობდა თრიალეთს, ტაშირს და აბოცს ('The second [niece, Arc'il the Chosroid] gave to the Vitaxa, of the House of P'eroz, who was prince in T'rialet'i, Tashiri, and Aboc'i'). — For the date and circumstances of this event, see: IV/III § 26

century. A considerable amount of evidence relates to this Second Dynasty in the period between the fourth and the eighth century.<sup>160</sup>

Gogarene reverted to the Iberian orbit after 363 and, definitively, after 387, i.e., after the death of St Mirian and under his son Bak'ar I. Therefore the second acquisition of lands, corresponding to Gogarene, by P'eroz may mean one of two things: either that the Mihranids came to the throne of Gogarene before leaving the Armenian orbit and that the above 'granting' of these territories is Leontius's way of describing their passing under Iberian suzerainty; or, as is more likely, that it was a Vitaxa of the earlier dynasty who abandoned Armenia for Iberia and that his dynasty soon thereafter, c. 371, in the turmoil of events that followed, was superseded, with the sanction of the Iberian overlord, by the Mihranids.<sup>161</sup> However this may have been, it is difficult to doubt that the change of suzerainty must have entailed not only the separation of Cholarzene from the Vitaxate, but also that of Javakhet'i and Artani, over all of which the Kings of Iberia must at that time have re-established their direct control.<sup>162</sup> Through Dzor and Kolb had also become separated from Gogarene, even before 363 — they abandoned Armenia together with it — and so, also, possibly already then, Ashots'; Tashir was nevertheless still to form one political unit with it c. 430.<sup>163</sup> Leontius indicates that Mihranid Gogarene lay east of the Samshvilde-Abots'i line. It thus included not only Tashir and Tsobap'or, but also, it would seem, the south-eastern section of the Duchy of Samshvilde, or Gach'iani, and the southern section of that of Khunani, or Gardabani. The two last-named regions, the Vitaxae either had acquired sometime previously or received now, and if so, possibly as a compensation for the detachment of the territories west of that line. At all events, since the Mihranid Vitaxae of Gogarene were entitled 'Vitaxae of Iberia' in the Armenian and even some Georgian sources, and 'Vitaxae of Armenia' in the Georgian sources, the Vitaxate itself came to be called — quite cosmocratically — 'Iberia' by the Armenians and 'Armenia' by the Iberians. Accordingly, it was precisely the above territories held by the Mihranid Vitaxae: Tashir, Tsobap'or, and parts of Gach'iani and Gar-

<sup>160</sup> II § 11; Appendix A II.

<sup>161</sup> Although Faustus's account of the campaigns conducted under King Pap, in 371 (cf. Trever, *Oč. po ist. Alb.* 200-201), in the regions that had seceded from Great Armenia, is patently exaggerated, there may nevertheless be some truth in his affirmation that in the course of one of them, directed against Gogarene and Iberia (5.15), the family of the Vitaxa was exterminated.

<sup>162</sup> Cf. *supra* § 11 at nn. 99-101 (for Cholarzene); *supra* nn. 117, 119, 125, 126 (for Javaxet'i and Artani).

<sup>163</sup> For Jor and Kolb, see *supra* at nn. 139, 154; for Tašir, *supra* at nn. 139, 140. According to Faustus, 4.50, Gogarene, Jor, Kolb, and Gardman abandoned Armenia together.

dabani, that came in the Middle Ages to be called by the Georgians *Somxiṭ'i* i.e., 'Armenia'.<sup>164</sup> These, then, must have been the basic lands of the Mihranid Vitaxate. Sometime before the mid-fifth century, Tashir became momentarily separated from Gogarene, but, by the seventh, Gogarene, as Ananias of Siracene testifies, had again come to include it and also T<sup>r</sup>ialet'i, and, by the eighth century, as we have seen from Juansher, Ashots' as well.<sup>165</sup>

17. The first acquisition of territory ascribed to the founder of the House of P<sup>r</sup>eroz shows a close connexion of the Second Dynasty of Gogarene with still another Mihranid branch, the Second Dynasty of Gardman. This brings us to one of the more complex problems of Caucasian history. The Princes of Gardman appear in the fourth century as one of the princely dynasties of Great Armenia, reigning in the canton of Gardman, situated in the upper valley of the Shamkhor river, between lake Sevan and the Cyrus, in the province of Otene, on the Albanian border.<sup>166</sup> After 363, the then Prince of Gardman — together with the Vitaxa of Gogarene and the Princes of Jor and of Kolb — severed the ties of feudal allegiance binding him to the Arsacid Crown, and passed, despite the Armenian attempts at a reconquest in 371-387, into the sphere of Albania.<sup>167</sup> It was then that the Mihranids seem to have replaced the older dynasty of Gardman, exactly as they replaced the older dynasties of Iberia and Gogarene. This accession, which must have been nearly simultaneous, of three Mihranid branches to these three thrones is remembered by Leontius of Ruisi as the Iranian emperor's setting up St Mirian as King of Iberia, Armenia, and Albania.<sup>168</sup> 'Armenia' in this case, it has been seen,

<sup>164</sup> II § 10 (for the titles); Brosset, *Additions* 73-74; Gu. 68; Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 276 (for Somxiṭ'i). — In the 480s the capital of the Vitaxae was at C<sup>r</sup>urtaw, as is shown by the *Marl. Susan*: cf. Peeters, *Ste Sousanik* 280-282. Ps. Uxt<sup>r</sup>anes (xvth century?), who visited it, indicates that in his day it was called Gačenk<sup>r</sup>: 34-35. It has been shown by Melikset-Bekov (cited by Peeters) that *Gačenk<sup>r</sup>* was the Armenian name of Gač<sup>r</sup>iani (the old name reappearing from under the Armenian veneer), the city that gave its name to the province, but not the 'chef-lieu d'un éristhavat' (Peeters 281), for that was Samšvilde from which the duchy, conterminous with the province derived its name: *supra* § 2, 4. Vaxušt, 144, notes two places: Čapala on the southern frontier of Gardabani, which was called Gač<sup>r</sup>iani, but, according to him, incorrectly; and Ark<sup>r</sup>evani or K<sup>r</sup>aoziani, north of it and on the K<sup>r</sup>c<sup>r</sup>ia, which was Gač<sup>r</sup>iani. It is with the latter that Melikset-Bekov identified C<sup>r</sup>urtaw. Vaxušt himself, 142, on the other hand, placed, tentatively, 'C<sup>r</sup>ortavi' east of the Berduji and across the river from Axtala, former Agaraki, the bishopric of Vaxtang I's creation (*infra* at n. 195) and subsequently the Metropolis of Somxiṭ'i.

<sup>165</sup> *Supra* § 14 at n. 130; § 16 at n. 159. — In the 570's, Tašir and Jorap<sup>r</sup>or were not parts of Iberia, as clear from the *Narratio* 89 (217-220).

<sup>166</sup> For the Princes of Gardman, see: Faustus 3.17; 4.50; Koriwn 12.1; Ps. Moses 3.43, 60, 63; cf. also II § 13. 9; for the territory: Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 352.

<sup>167</sup> Faustus 4.50; 5.13.

<sup>168</sup> Leont. Mrov. 64: ... და მიხრა ქართველთა მეფედ მე მიხი და დახუა მცნე-

was, as a manifestation of the Caucasian toponymical ambivalence, as well as, more particularly, of the Iberian cosmocratic claims, the name given by the Georgians to the Ibero-Armenian march of Gogarene. It would appear that, manifesting the same ambivalence and the same claims, 'Albania' stood, for Leontius and Juansher at least, for the frontier principality of Gardman. It hardly needs saying that, claims apart, the Kings of Iberia of the time had absolutely nothing to do with either real Armenia or real Albania.

The Princes of Gardman came to play a dominant role in Albanian affairs. The country was left kingless by the Iranians early in the sixth century, and so ruled, under the control of the viceroys appointed by the Court of Ctesiphon,<sup>169</sup> by an oligarchy of the local princes, of whom those of Gardman appear to have been the most considerable.<sup>170</sup> In the following century, the lords of Gardman acquired the office of Presiding Prince of Albania.<sup>171</sup> It was thus

თახ. და მიხცა ქართლი, ზომხითი, რანი, მოვგანო და ჰერეთი ('And [the Great King] gave to the Iberians as king his son [Mirian] and installed him at Mc'xet'a. And he gave him Iberia, Somxit'i, Rani, Movokani, and Heret'i'). The last three regions represent Albania, although *Rani* is Albania *par excellence*.

<sup>169</sup> The Iranian viceroys (whose Iranian title was *marzpan*) resided at Partaw, the capital of Albania, from the moment of the abdication, c. 461, of the penultimate Arsacid, Vač'e II (Eliseus 8 [256-258]; Moses Kał. 1.10) and through the restoration of his nephew, the last Albanian Arsacid Vač'agan III (485-510) (Moses Kał. 1.17): Trever *Oč. po isl. Alb.* 214-215, 225-226, 232-234, 236, 239-241; Krymskij, *Stranicy iz isl.* 295 and n. 6. In the mid-sixth century, Armenia, Iberia, and Albania were placed under one viceroy: Trever 224, 232.

<sup>170</sup> Trever, *op. cit.* 234-250.

<sup>171</sup> Varaz-Gregory of Gardman was the first Prince of Albania (Moses Kał. 2.17 [197]; 3-20 [375]; 3.23 [387]: *Varaz Grigor, xaraxinn iŋxann Ałuanic*); his regnal years are 628-636: Trever, *op. cit.* 244. The Georgian historian Sumbat has an interesting information concerning this dynast when he says (340) that the Emperor Heraclius, in his second Albanian campaign, in 628, 'arrived in Gardabani (*scil.* Gardman), at Varaz Gagel's, and camped in the place called Xuzašeni. And Heraclius baptized Varaz-Grigol and all his people' (მივიდა გარდაბანს ვარაზ გაგელიზაზა, და დაილაშქრა ადგილზა, მას რომელზა ჰქვან ზუზაშენი, და ნათელზა ჰერაკლე ვარაზა [*rectius* ვარაზ] გრიგოლიზი და ყოველზა ერზა მიზა). The first variant of the name is a copyist's error under the influence of the memory of the celebrated Zachariad prince Varam Gageli (of Gagi), mentioned in *Hist. Eul. Sov.* 103, 110, and in the Mesch. Chron. 176. (The Q ed. of Sumbat has *Varaz-Gagel* throughout, owing to an 'emendation' that goes counter to both the oldest MS tradition and historical reality: this sort of thing occasionally mars this otherwise excellent edition. — For the imbroglios in connexion with this text, see IV Excursus A n. 53.) Moses Kał., 2.17 (197), on his part, mentions that Varaz-Gregory received baptism (*ĕar zmkrut'wn*) from the Albanian Katholikos Viroy. In 3.23 (387), however, Moses says that it was Varaz-Gregory's grandfather, Vardan the Brave, who became a Christian. This must be the reason why C. J. F. Dowsett chose to water down the above Armenian phrase by translating it as 'was consecrated': *Hist. Cauc. Alb.* 109. The family may, of course, have meantime lapsed into Mazdaism, as indeed they seem to have lapsed before (*infra* n. 180) or as the Mihranids of Gogarene lapsed in the late fifth century (II Appendix A II [6]),



that to the Iberian historians of the period from the seventh to the ninth century, a Prince of Gardman was *ipso facto* a Prince of Albania; Albania and Gardman had become inextricably associated with each other; and Gardman

and this may be interpreted as Varaz-Gregory's return to Christianity. However, in conjunction with the Emperor Heraclius this event acquires a more specific character. Heraclius's record in Caucasia was one of an energetic planter of Catholic faith and the Chalcedonian dogma. He brought about, in 632-633, a — temporary — reunion of the national Armenian Church with the still-Catholic Church of the Empire: Garitte, *La Narratio* 278-350. So the Emperor's 'baptizing' the Prince of Gardman in 628 can only be viewed in the context with this other event, — as a manifestation of the same policy in Albania as in Armenia: Trever 241; Artamonov, *Očerki drevnejšej istorii Xazar* (Leningrad 1936) 59-60. The wavering of Albania between the Armenian and the Universal Church is well known: Grousset, *Histoire* 312, 390-391, 472, 479-480. Moses Kal. seems to have used as a source the writings of the Monophysite Katholikos of Albania Viroy himself: Abelyan, *Ist. drevnearm. lit.* I 391; Trever 14, 241. Neither, quite naturally, mentioned this event. Moses's reference to the baptism by Viroy must either have served as a disguise for that unpleasant event, or must imply that, at a later date, Varaz-Gregory returned to Monophysitism. In Moses Kal. 3.3-11, we can see an account of a new gravitation towards Chalcedon, and of its crushing in 706, with the Caliph's aid, by the combined forces of Armenian and Albanian Monophysites. That the above interpretation of the evidence preserved by Sumbat is correct, is borne out by the fact that, whereas in 574 Gardman was still Monophysite and opposed Justin II's Union of 572, the Union of 632-633 was accepted by Stephen, Bishop of Gardman: *Narratio* 89, 123; cf. Garitte 220, 313. Albania itself, however, having been separated from the national Armenian Church from before 572 to after 614/616, was at that time again Monophysite: Garitte 205-209, 268-271. Evidently, unable to convert the leading prelate of Albania, the Katholikos Viroy, Heraclius had to content himself with the conversion of Albania's leading dynast, the Prince of Gardman, and — probably at the same time — of his bishop. It was this, doubtless, that induced the Emperor to appoint Varaz-Gregory to be the first Presiding Prince of Albania. For the conjunction of these several facts: the above religious development; the fact that Varaz-Gregory is held by the Albanian historical tradition to have been 'the first Prince of Albania'; the Roman titles borne by his successors in the Principate (see Trever 246, 250, 289-290); the pattern of Maurice's and Heraclius's activities in Caucasia, — all this can leave no doubt that what the evidence before us reveals is the establishment in Albania, upon the defeat of Iran, of the institution of Presiding Prince, replacing under the suzerain control of the Empire the dormant monarchy of the country: precisely what the Imperial government had set up in Iberia in 588 and was to set up in Armenia in 635: cf. IV/II. — This mention of rebaptism (unless a loose synonym for 'conversion') is of interest for religious history. The Byzantine attitude towards heretical baptism never became crystallized and wavered, as it were, between St Stephen I and St Cyprian: the Trullan synod (canon 95) might forbid the rebaptism of Monophysites, yet there was still talk of rebaptizing Armenians in the eleventh century: M. Jugie, *Theologia dogmatica Christianorum Orientalium* III (Paris 1930) 89-91; and, a century earlier, we see this practised in Caucasia: Asojik 3.30. The Armenians, on their part, tended to regard heretical baptism as invalid: Faustus 4.5; cf. Tournebize, *Histoire politique et religieuse de l'Arménie* (Paris 1910) 575. Varaz-Gregory of Gardman appears to have experienced the consequences of both attitudes.



may occasionally have represented to them the whole of Albania, as Gogarene indeed represented Armenia. We shall see the workings of this manifestation of the toponymical ambivalence in a moment.<sup>172</sup>

18. The Albanian historical tradition, embodied in the *History of Albania* of Moses of Kaġankaytuk,<sup>173</sup> deduces the House of Gardman-Albania from Mihran, a kinsman of the Great King Chosroes, who, after the revolt of Vahram Chōbēn and the fall of the King's other kinsmen, Vistahm and Vindōē, fled the anger of Chosroes and settled in Gardman.<sup>174</sup> Moses produces the genealogy of Mihran's descendants, the Mihrakan house,<sup>175</sup> down to the sons of Varaz-Gregory, the first Prince of Albania (628-636).<sup>176</sup> But the coming of the Mihranids to Gardman must be pushed further back. Moses, or his source, quite naturally seized upon the events that had become epic in the world of 'Iranianism'<sup>177</sup> in order to explain their advent. Moses gives five generations between

<sup>172</sup> Occasionally, after 461 (*supra* n. 169) to be sure, the reference to a 'duke in Rani' in an Iberian source may indicate an Iranian viceroy, rather than a Prince of Gardman, as in the case of Varsk'en of Gogarene, in the 480s: II Appendix A II (6).

<sup>173</sup> Or of Dasxurēn: *Introd.* at n. 17.

<sup>174</sup> Moses Kaġ. 2.17 (195-197). The Iranian events in question are dealt with in Christensen, *Iran Sass.* 443-446. — Vistahm and Vindōē, maternal uncles of Chosroes, are generally regarded as belonging to the House of Aspahbaḡ, and not to that of Mihrān, to which their enemy Vahram Čōbēn belonged. Their kinship with Chosroes is described by the same word as Mihran's — *azgayin*: Moses 195. But the whole story, as will be seen, is introduced by Moses without any connexion with reality; and the Mihranid origin of the House of Gardman-Albania, and of those of Iberia and Gogarene is inferred from other data. *Inter alia*, the dynastic surname of the House of Gardman-Albania was *Mihrakan*: Moses 2.17 [title of the chapter]; 3.10; 3.20; 3.23; Markwart it is true, denied (*Skizzen* 25) that this patronymic was derived from Mihrān, on the ground that, in such a case, it should have been *Mihranakan* or *Mihranean*. But the Albanian name must be either a contraction of the term proposed by Markwart (cf. Strabo 11.14.6: Artaxata for Artaxiasata), or simply a *translation* of the Iranian name, both being patronymics derived from Mihr = Mithras. The three dynasties, of Gardman, Iberia, and Gogarene, affirmed the same Sassanid origin, which must have been what the Mihrāns were credited with in Caucasia: the founder of the Albanian Mihranids, Mihran is a kinsman of Chosroes II (Moses 2.17), called 'brother' by him (*eġbayr im ew harazat: ibid* 196), and 'of the House of Sasan' (*ew Mirhearn, or 'i Sasanean tohmē ēr*: Moses, 3.23. [387]), while his descendant Varaz-Gregory is of the House of Artāšir (*Artāšēran tohmi*: 2.18 [198]. St Mirian of Iberia is the son of the Great King: cf. *supra* n. 168 and Leont. Mrov. *passim*. P'eroz, the founder of the House of Gogarene is St Mirian's kinsman and a member of the Great King's family (*supra* n. 157); and his descendant Aršuša II of Gogarene calls himself by an equivalent of 'Sassanid': for this, and for the Mihranid origin of the Houses of Iberia and Gogarene, see II § 11.

<sup>175</sup> So called in Moses Kaġ. 2.17; 3.10, 20, 23 (*supra* n. 174); *Mihrakan* in MSS.

<sup>176</sup> Moses Kaġ. 2.17 (197); 3.23. (387).

<sup>177</sup> Cf. Christensen, *Iran Sass.* 445.

Varaz-Gregory and Mihran,<sup>178</sup> whose *floruit* can thus be put at c. 480. And yet the flight of Mihran took place (so Moses) in connexion with the fall of Vistahm and his brother, 'many years after' the restoration of Chosroes II in 591.<sup>179</sup> The whole early genealogy of the Mihrakans appears rather embroiled.<sup>180</sup>

With the aid of the Iberian historical tradition this early genealogy can be pushed further back. Leontius of Ruisi does not tell us what became of the first territorial acquisition of P'eroz, the implication being that it reverted to the Kings of Iberia.<sup>181</sup> So, unless it be assumed that P'eroz's two successive acquisitions are mere symbols of two separate accessions — to Gardman and to Gogarene — of two separate Mihranid branches, it can be supposed that, having indeed first held Gardman, he ceded it, on acquiring Gogarene, to a kinsman. In this case, as seems intimated by Leontius,<sup>182</sup> the advent of the Mihranids to Gardman was indeed practically simultaneous with their advent to Gogarene, and near-simultaneous with that to Iberia. The Mihranids of Gardman appear to have been converted about the same time as their cousins of Gogarene; and c. 430 when Mashtots' visited him, Khurs, Prince of Gardman, was a Christian.<sup>183</sup> This conversion, however, was not lasting.

<sup>178</sup> They are, allowing thirty years for each generation, as follow: Mihran [c. 480] — Ar-mayēl [c. 510] — Vard [c. 540] — Vardan the Brave [c. 570] — Vard [c. 600] — Varaz-Gregory [628-636]: Moses Kal. 2.17; 3.23.

<sup>179</sup> 2.17 (195: *yet bazum amac'*).

<sup>180</sup> Cf. Trever, *Oč. po ist. Alb.* 235-236. Thus, Vardan the Brave (*k'af*), grandfather of Varaz-Gregory, is said to have become a Christian and built the Gardman castle (2.17). And yet in his account of the Council of Ajuen, held under Vač'agan III, c. 485-488 (cf. Dowsett, *Hist. Cauc. Alb.* 50 n. 1: the *terminus a quo* must be 485, the date of the 'Peace of Valāš') in 1.26 and again in 3.10 Moses Kal. mentions Vardan the Brave of the Mihrakan house who was Lord of Gardman and who, obviously, was already then a Christian, especially as he presided over that council. According to the genealogy of the Mihrakans in 2.17 and 3.23, the lord of Gardman at that time should have been Mihran (*supra* n. 178). To be sure, a new conversion to Christianity, after a lapse, can always be supposed, but hardly the duplication in the same family of both a *praenomen* and a sobriquet. It is, accordingly, more difficult to assume the existence of two Vardans, both surnamed the Brave, than to suspect a shifting of names in the series of Varaz-Gregory's ancestors, which may have taken place in Moses's sources. I would not, however, venture to suggest, with Fr Akinean, that the entire genealogy is an invention; cf. Dowsett 107 n. 3. As if conscious of the discrepancies, the compiler of 3.23 states that Vardan the Brave, Varaz-Gregory's grandfather, though he was the first Christian, was not the builder of the Gardman castle; cf. Dowsett 108, n. 2.

<sup>181</sup> Iberia's cosmocratic pretensions to Albania (or only Gardman?) are found in Leont. Mrov. 64, 65, 66, 68-69, 70-71, 117, 130-131, 136, 141 (cf. *supra* nn. 157, 168); and in Juanšer 242 (*infra* n. 187).

<sup>182</sup> *Supra* at n. 168.

<sup>183</sup> Koriwn 12.1 (34); for the date, see: Peeters, *Jérémie* 28; *Ste Sousanik* 271. Writing at a much later date, Ps. Moses, 3.60, speaks of the conversion (from heresy rather than from paganism) of Xurs by Maštoc'.

Exactly as the branch of Gogarene lapsed into Mazdaism in the 480s,<sup>184</sup> that of Gardman must have abandoned Christianity sometime before the 440s.<sup>185</sup> Juansher has much to tell of two Mazdaist princes, whom he calls dukes in Albania: Barzabod, whose daughter Sagdukht was the mother of Vakhtang I of Iberia, and his son and successor Varaz-Bakur.<sup>186</sup> That they were Mihranids is made clear from a later passage from the same author. In it, Juansher recounts the marrying off of his nieces by Arch'il, the head of the dispossessed Chosroids, c. 748; and among the dynasts to whom these princesses were married is mentioned Varzman, of the House of Barzabod, who held — or 'received from Arch'il' as the inveterate Iberian cosmocratic pretension would put it — 'the land from Kotmani to the K'urdis-valley,' which is, as will be seen shortly, a way of describing the Principality of Gardman.<sup>187</sup> More than that, Varzman can be identified as a Mihranid of Gardman-Albania.<sup>188</sup> The Principate of Albania appears to have been reduced by the Saracens, in the

<sup>184</sup> II Appendix A II (6).

<sup>185</sup> Vaxtang I of Iberia, whose mother was the daughter of a Mazdaist Prince of Gardman (see the following note), was born c. 439 IV I § 5.

<sup>186</sup> Juanšer 141, 142, 144, 145, 150, 158, 159, 176. — Vardan, 91, depending here on Iberian sources, speaks of Vaxtang's mother as Sahakduxt. For an inscription dating possibly from that epoch and mentioning Sahakduxt, see G. Bodchoridze, 'The Monument of Juarisa' G 1 2-3 50-52. — Juanšer believes them to have been Iranian viceroys of Albania, an impossibility before 461 (*supra* nn. 169, 172), and accordingly connects them with the city of Partaw: 144, 176, 242.

<sup>187</sup> IV/III at n. 46. — For the geography involved in this text of Juanšer, see *infra* § 19.

<sup>188</sup> The name of Var(a)zman appears to be typically Mihranid; cf. Moses Kal. 2.17; 3.8; 3.10; 3.13; 3.20; 3.23. The Varazman of the Iberian source seems to be a son of Varaz-Tiridates, son of Varazman, who perished in the waters of the Cyrus: *ibid.* 3. 20. The two names, alone, leave no doubt to their being Mihranids; it is, moreover, possible to establish their genealogical connexion with the dynasty of Albania. In 3.20, Varaz-Tiridates, son of Varazman, is mentioned immediately after the reference to the iniquity of the Princess Vardanuhi (Vardanurhi). In 3.13, this 'iniquity' is explained: Vardanuhi of Albania married, c. 700, her first cousin Varazoy, son of Vaxtang, both being grandchildren of a Varazman. In 3.10, moreover, Vaxtang, son of Varazman, is spoken of as a Mihranid. It thus appears that the Varazman in question was none other than Varaz-Gregory's son of the same name (for whom, see 2.17; 3.23): Dowsett, *Hist. Cauc. Alb.* 204 n. 1. The upshot of these genealogical indications and of the juxtaposition in 3.20 of the names of Varaz-Tiridates and Vardanuhi, must be that she was his daughter, and the sister of the Varazman of the Georgian source. Brosset, on his part, considered, it appears, the 'son of Varazman' (*Varazmanay ordwoy*), as applied to Varaz-Tiridates in 3.20, to be an error, arising from the projection to the grandfather of the name of a grandson, Varaz-Tiridates's already mentioned second son Varazman, for 'the son of Varaz-P'erož,' and identified, accordingly, this Varaz-Tiridates with the Prince of Albania Varaz-Tiridates I, son of Varaz-P'erož (for whom: 3.20, 23): *Hist. de la Siounie* I 183; cf. Grousset, *Histoire* 647.

eighth century,<sup>189</sup> to little more than the Principality of Gardman. The House of Mihrakan of the Albanian historical tradition is, consequently, the equivalent of the House of Barzabod, of the Iberian.<sup>189a</sup>

19. The historical geography of the Principality of Gardman has caused a certain amount of confusion, the source of which has been the lack of clear distinction between two homonymous territories: the Iberian land of Gardabani and the Armenian canton of Gardman, called also Gardabani in Iberian sources. This homonymy may be due to an early occupation of both these territories by one ethnic group which left upon them its onomastic imprint.<sup>190</sup> But the earliest Armenian and Iberian sources show these two regions as absolutely distinct. It has already been seen that the land of Gardabani constituted the Iberian duchy of Khunani, so named after its chief fortress — originally called Mtkuaris-Ts'ikhe and latterly, by the Muslims, Qız-qal'a — situated at the junction of the Cyrus and the K'ts'ia, in the extreme east

<sup>189</sup> Albania first passed under Saracen control in the mid-seventh century: Trever, *Oč po isl. Alb.* 244-245. Constans II (641-668), however, reestablished Roman suzerainty there (*ibid.* 246); but, c. 654, simultaneously with Armenia, Albania again passed to the Caliphate (*ibid.* 247-248), only again to see in 685, Roman rights restored in it under Justinian II: Dowsett, *op. cit.* 202 n. 1; Trever 250 [the date given is 688]; IV/III § 27. In 699, Varaz-Tiridates I, who had passed to the Caliphate, was carried off to Constantinople, to escape from there only in 704, while another prince, Šeroy, ruled in his stead. On his return, Varaz-Tiridates may have been instrumental in having Šeroy deported to Syria: Dowsett *loc. cit.* This may seem to mark the end of the Principate of Albania: Trever 250; Eremyan, *Moisej Kal.* 154. Yet the restored Varaz-Tiridates 'gave the land of the east to the Saracens and paid tribute only to them': Moses Kal. 3.12 (357), which proves that the Principate continued after Šeroy's deportation. It must have been only *after* 704 that this institution became reduced: Bunijatov, 'Is istorii Kavkazskoj Albanii VII-VIII vv.', *Voprosy istorii Kavkazskoj Albanii* (Baku 1962) 166. It was then that Arab officials came to reside at Partaw (Barša'a): the first Arab coin issued there is dated A. D. 708/709: Eremyan 154. If this be true, the subsequent 'Princes of Albania' must have been *de facto* only Princes of Gardman.

<sup>189a</sup> And if 'House of Barzabod,' then perhaps also 'House of [Varaz-]Bakur'? This would throw light on the family of 'Bakureani (i.e., 'Bacurid'; — note the Armenianizing form of the ending), son of Baldad,' mentioned among the Iberian and Albanian dynasts of *Roy. List III: IV Excursus A* at nn. 34, 41. — The *Mart. Arč'il*, 246, mentions, it would seem, 'a certain Prince of Gardman' = *m'avari er'i gardabaneli*, whose father's brother had been killed by the Canars and who denounced Arč'il the Chosroid to Huzaima ibn Hāzim; cf. IV/III n. 41.

<sup>190</sup> The Georgian form Gardabani appears to be more ancient (for an instance of its application to Gardman, see *supra* n. 171) than the Armenian Gardman: — an obvious contraction and a result of the mutation *b > m*. The name must be related to the tribal root G-R: I n. 58 Ps. Moses, 2.8, represents Gardman as a subdivision of the Albanians. It may be related to Gargar, another subdivision of the same, and also to Gogarene-Gugark'. The lands of Gurqumeli and Guria, lying east of lake Sevan in Urartian times, may also be mentioned in this context; for them, see Melik'išvili, *Urart. nadpisi* 427.

of the region.<sup>191</sup> The Iberian historical tradition is emphatic in stating that the river Berduji and Khunani constituted the eastern boundary of both the land and the duchy,<sup>192</sup> no less, in fact, than of Iberia itself.<sup>193</sup> Whatever references to Khunani there are in the historical monuments, all show it, and its dukes, within the Iberian realm.<sup>194</sup> After 485, the King of Iberia set up an episcopal see for Khunani at Agarak;<sup>195</sup> in the Armenian documents of 505/6, the Bishop of Khunani is one of the Iberian prelates.<sup>196</sup>

We have seen, on the other hand, that the Principality of Gardman was, likewise, a distinct unit, under its two successive dynasties, the second one Mihranid, playing a certain role in Arsacid Great Armenia and a greater one, after 363/387, in Albania.<sup>197</sup> The nucleus of this princely State, which was also called the Valley (*jor*) of Gardman, formed a canton of the province of Otene, between lake Sevan and the Cyrus; its centre, subsequently called Kart'amanik and then Kot'manik or Krt'manik, being situated on an eastern tributary of the Shamkhor river.<sup>198</sup> The eastern frontier of this principality does not seem to have passed very much farther east than the Shamkhor river valley,<sup>199</sup> but its western frontier, as will be seen, fluctuated considerably in the course of its history.

These two lands — Iberian Gardabani and Armeno-Albanian Gardman — were not only, thus, wholly distinct from each other, but also, at the moment of their earliest appearance in recorded history, not even contiguous. Three political units separated them. One was Tsobap'or, the valley of the Berduji, also called the K'urd-Vachris-valley, which, together with Kangark', formed the nucleus of Gogarene; east of it, occupying the valley of the river Inja, was the Principality of Kolb or Kolbap'or; farther east, on the confines of Gardman, in the valley of the Alstev-Aqstafa, was that of Dzor or Dzora-

<sup>191</sup> Leont. Mrov. 31; Vax. 168 and Map 2.

<sup>192</sup> Leont. Mrov. 8, 24 (*supra* nn. 35, 37).

<sup>193</sup> *Ibid.* 4, 5, 19, 31; Juanšer 140.

<sup>194</sup> Leont. Mrov. 31, 43, 55, 68, 145.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.* 199; cf. *supra* § 12 at n. 116; and n. 164. — Vaxtang's setting up of a bishopric for the Duchy of Xunani and placing it in the very heart of Gogarene (*ibid.*) must indicate the King's intention of subjecting the Vitaxate, after the execution of the Mazdaist Varsk'en (II Appendix A II [6]; IV/I § 6) to a closer control of the Crown.

<sup>196</sup> *Bk Lett.* 183 (list of the Iberian bishops present at the Council of Dvin of 505/6); cf. Javakšvili, *K'art' er. ist.* I 302 and n. 3.

<sup>197</sup> *Supra* § 17.

<sup>198</sup> Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 352; to his authorities ought to be added Ps. Vardan, *Geogr.* 414-415; L. Inčičean, *Storagruf'iwn hin Hayastaneaye'* (Venice 1822) 338.

<sup>199</sup> There lay the canton of Sacasene: Hübschmann, *op. cit.* 352-353.

p'or, with its chief place of Hnarakert.<sup>200</sup> It has already been noted that the last two States must have originally separated themselves from Gogarene and that, in the fourth century, together with it and with Gardman, they passed from the sphere of Great Armenia.<sup>201</sup> That they moved, like the latter, into the orbit of Albania, rather than with the former into that of Iberia, is indicated by the insistence of the Iberian historical tradition on the Berduji's being the eastern frontier of the country.<sup>202</sup> And thus, at the end of the sixth century, Dzorap'or is mentioned as lying outside Iberia.<sup>203</sup> However in the seventh century, Kolbap'or and Dzorap'or, with Hnarakert, were again parts of Gogarene and, consequently, of the Kingdom of Iberia.<sup>204</sup> Finally, in the eighth, the Princes of Gardman appear to have acquired — we do not know in what circumstances — both these territories. This is clear from Juansher's reference to the State of Varazman the Mihranid as stretching 'from Kotmani to the K'urdis-valley.'<sup>205</sup> The latter term is already familiar to us;

<sup>200</sup> Cf. *supra* § 14 at nn. 139-140; n. 131. — Hnarakert marked the western frontier of ethnic Albania, as is clear from Ps. Moses 2.8; Moses Kal. 1.4.

<sup>201</sup> *Supra* § 15.

<sup>202</sup> *Supra* at nn. 192, 193. — Armenian sources mention the city of Xa[xa], once the winter residence of the Kings of Armenia and then that of the Kings of Albania, as near the Ibero-Albanian frontier in the mid-fifth century: Eliseus 3 (96); Moses Kal. 2.2 (178). It was in Otene: Arm. Agath. 28/2 (26).] But the exact location of it has not been determined; cf. the conflicting opinions of Vaxušt, Map 4 (Xilxila); Minorsky *Transcaucasica* 85 n. 3; S. Eremyan 'Torgovye puti Zakavkaz'ja v ėpoxu Sasanidov,' VDI 1939/1 128 (who identifies it with the Lal[ia] of Ptolemy and the *Tabula Peutingeriana*); Manandyan, *O torgovle* 168; Ingoroqva 51. — Cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 272-273.

<sup>203</sup> *Supra* n. 165. — The line of partition of 591, running along the Hrazdan river and west of lake Sevan (Sebēos 3 [71]), ought to have passed, continuing along the ancient trade route between the Araxes and the Cyrus valley (Minorsky, *Transcaucasica* 76, 85, Map 2; Manandyan, *O torgovle*, 167-168, 197), through Jorap'or = Aqstafa valley. In this case, indeed, 'the great part of Iberia to Tiflis' (Sebēos 2 [51], 3 [71]) was ceded by Chosroes to Maurice. Possibly then, Kolbap'or was reunited with Gogarene. Then only could Hnarakert in Jorap'or have become 'a city on the Iberian frontier': Trever, *Oč. po ist. Alb.* 251.

<sup>204</sup> *Supra* § 14 at n. 130; § 16 at n. 165.

<sup>205</sup> *Supra* § 18 at n. 187. — But perhaps the Mihranids of Gardman had already held these territories by the beginning of the seventh century. Gardman Castle has been identified with Xuzašeni, mentioned by Sumbat as in the territory of Varaz-Gregory of Gardman-Albania (*supra* n. 171), and presumed to have been located in the Aqstafa valley, i.e., in Jorap'or: S. Eremyan, in IAFAN 1941 9 (14) 27-30 (cited by Trever, *Oč. po ist. Alb.* 33, 235, n. 3). The castle in question could, obviously, have been built by the Mihranids outside Gardman proper. If, indeed, it was Varaz-Gregory's grandfather, Vardan (c. 570) who raised that castle (*supra* nn. 180, 178), then Jorap'or, though mentioned along with Gardman, in the 570s, in the *Narratio* 89 (cf. *supra* n. 165), must have already then been together with it ruled by the Mihranids. Sumbat refers to Xuzašeni as in Varaz-Gregory's possession in 628; while Ananias, who places Jorap'or in Iberia, as a part of Gogarene, wrote towards the end



and there can really be little doubt that the former represents the nucleus, and easternmost part, of Gardman — Kot'manik or Kart'manik.<sup>206</sup> This eighth-century westward extension of the principality Juansher appears to have projected back to the fourth century, when he described the first acquisition of territory by P'eroz to have consisted of 'the land from Khunani to Bardavi.'<sup>207</sup> Khunani, it will be recalled, was the northeasternmost point of the Berduji valley, and Partav or Bardavi, the capital of Albania, which was in the Iberian historical memory coupled with Gardman.<sup>208</sup>

20. The foregoing analysis of several problems of the historical geography of Caucasia prior to the Bagratid period hinges on the fact that attention has been given not only to the evidence of the available sources — and these have been treated as worthy of credence, — but also to the general historical context. In the light of the historical context, the apparent contradictions of the sources can, for the most part, be shown to be mere reflections of the fluctuation of the frontier lines brought about by the vicissitudes of history. In particular, two things made this analysis possible: — (1) the identification called for by the evidence of the Iberian historical tradition, of the ancient frontier line between the Georgian and the Armenian lands as the series of rather unimportant latitudinal ridges running from the source of the Berduji-Debeda-Borçalu river to lake Palakats'io (Çıldır), round the sources of the Cyrus, up between that river and the Acampsis (the Arsiani ridge), and westwards again, as the Parkhali-Paryadres heights, and, finally, across the Acampsis to join the Pontic Alps;<sup>209</sup> and (2) the recognition on the basis of the same evidence, of the Berduji and its valley (K'urd-Vachris-khevi, Tsobap'or, or Borçalu) as the traditional eastern frontier of Iberia.<sup>210</sup> To fail to accept, or to realize, this is to multiply without necessity the instances, already numerous enough, of the Caucasian toponymical ambivalence and of the shift of conflicting claims and control.<sup>211</sup>

of that century. Accordingly, if Xuzašeni (= Gardman Castle?) was indeed in Jorap'or, that land must have left Gardman for Iberia sometime between 628 and 680.

<sup>206</sup> *Supra* at n. 198; cf. Ingoroqva 455: Kotmani = Šamxor river.

<sup>207</sup> *Supra* § 16 at n. 157.

<sup>208</sup> *Supra* § 17 at nn. 168-172. Though projecting the conjunction of Gardman with Albania back to the fourth century when it did not exist, Juansher could not be unaware of the fact that, early in his own century, that conjunction had been terminated (*supra* § 18, at n. 189); he thus describes Varazman's State as reaching eastwards not to the capital of Albania, but only to the eastern frontier of Gardman proper.

<sup>209</sup> Cf., on the other hand, the excessive and mutually exclusive claims in this connexion of Lynch, *Armenia* I 430-435, and of Ingoroqva 421, 467, 482-486.

<sup>210</sup> For a different view, see the following note.

<sup>211</sup> Overlooking the testimony of some of the available sources and the historical context can be the lot of even the best of scholars, as witness Markwart on Gardman. Analyzing, in

21. It remains to examine which of the Armeno-Georgian marchlands, the lands of Upper and Lower Iberia, were held by the Iberian Bagratids, and how they were apportioned along the several lines of the dynasty. The acquisition of Iberian lands by Adarnase I, as we will call the founder of the Iberian Bagratids, has already been noted. It consisted of (1) the lands of Erushet'i and (a part of least of) Artani, received by him after 772; and (2) one-third of the Guaramid inheritance, received sometime in the years 786-807 and comprising the following: Cholarzene, Shavshet'i, Achara, Nigali, Artani, Lower Tao, and Asisp'ori (Arseats'p'or in Upper Tao).<sup>212</sup> The total absence, save

*Skizzen*, 28-31, some Arab and Armenian itineraries of the ninth-tenth century, he identified the Hunān of the Arab itineraries with the Hnarakert of the Armenian, both being situated about mid-way between Tiflis and Partaw; and also the Qal'at ibn Kandamān, about half-way between Hunān/Hnarakert and Tiflis, with Qiz-Qal'a situated at the confluence of the Cyrus and the K'c'ia; cf. Manandyan, *O torgovle* 244-247, 253-258. This is unexceptionable. But Markwart allowed his ingenuity to carry him beyond the realm of historical reality. Correcting the reading *Qal'at ibn Kandamān* to *Qal'at ibn Gardamān*, he proposed to consider Qiz-Qal'a to have been not the site of the ancient Iberian fortress-city of Xunani, the centre of the duchy of that name corresponding to the Iberian land of Gardabani (Vax. 168; *supra* § 2, 5; also at nn. 190-196), but of the Gardman Castle, the centre of the Mihranid principedom of Gardman (*supra* nn. 180, 205). That the Arab geographers might have called the chief place of the land of Gardabani by the term proposed by Markwart, is entirely plausible. We have had occasion to see the homonymy — in Georgian only — between the Iberian province and the Armeno-Albanian principality. But this homonymy induced Markwart himself to transplant this Armeno-Albanian State into purely Georgian territory, and to deny its connexion with the Armeno-Albanian canton of Gardman in Otene; the Armeno-Albanian principality was identified with the Iberian duchy, while Xunani, the historical centre of that duchy, was pushed eastwards to the site of Hnarakert with which Markwart identified it: *Skizzen*, 23-27, 33-34. The evidence of both the Georgian and the Armenian sources for the utter distinctness of the Iberian duchy and the Armeno-Albanian principality was utterly overlooked; and that for the location of Xunani, dismissed for what could only be an Arab misnomer (Hnarakert = Hunān) of the tenth century. — On similar premises, Ingoroqva arrived at a diametrically opposite conclusion: he propelled the Iberian land into Armeno-Albanian territory. Accepting the identification of Xunani with Hnarakert, he located the centre of the Iberian duchy of Xunani at the confluence of the Aqstafa and the Cyrus, thus pushing the land of Gardabani farther east. Now Vaxušt, 136, throws out a remark to the effect that one of the names of the Berduji river was Sagimi; but in a note asserts that the latter name rather applied to the Inja or the Aqstafa. This seems to be the reason for Ingoroqva's identifying the Berduji of the historical tradition with the Jegami or Zegam, a river east of Aqstafa. In this way the eastern frontier of Iberia could be pushed eastwards to the very frontiers of Gardman, and the two lands, homonymous in Georgian, fused into one: *Giorgi Merč'ule* 50, 451-477, map on p. 455. I must be excused from wearying my readers with the discussion of numerous other similar points of Mr Ingoroqva's nationalistic scheme: the above must suffice.

<sup>212</sup> Cf. *supra* § 13 at nn. 125-126. It must have been only a part of Artani that Adarnase I received at first, because his second acquisition contained, again, Artani. For Arseac'p'or-Asisp'ori, see *supra* n. 126.

at the moment of the acquisition, of any reference in the sources to any *partial* possession of that inheritance by the Bagratids, or of their sharing it with any other house, suggests that the Princess Mihrandukht, sister of the last Chosroid Juansher († after 807) — they were the two coheirs of Adarnase — must not have long outlived her brother.<sup>213</sup>

Ashot I the Great, son of Adarnase, inherited from his father the complete Guaramid State, thus founding the Iberian Bagratids' 'Hereditary Lands'; and he acquired, in addition, the Principate of Iberia which the Guaramids had intermittently occupied. Ashot, accordingly, is shown in possession of Tao,<sup>214</sup> Cholarzene (where he rebuilt the fortress of Artanuji and the city round it), and Shavshet'i<sup>215</sup> He is, moreover, said to have been lord of 'the lands to Kars,'<sup>216</sup> which implies that, in addition to his father's land of Artani, he also held Kola. He is also said to have 'possessed himself of [the territory] from Cholarzene to the [river] K'sani' — having stopped, in a battle on that river, the thrust into Iberia of its former duchy and now an independent principality, Kakhetia<sup>217</sup> — and, likewise, to have 'ruled from

<sup>213</sup> IV/IV § 33-34. — For the genealogy of Adarnase I's descendants, see *Bagr. of Iber.* I

<sup>214</sup> This seems indicated by Merč'ule 13 (19): on arriving in Tao, St Gregory and his companions heard the news of the Curopalate Ashot's death. Ashot's father, at any rate, held Lower Tao, and a canton in Upper Tao, and the Two Taos belonged to Ashot's descendants.

<sup>215</sup> Sumbat 343-344: და აგელმწიდა იგი შავშეთ გლარჯეთსა ზედა ... და პლვა გლარჯეთის ტყეთა შინა კლდე ერთი რღმელი ბირველ გორგასალს ვახტანგს ციხედ აღემენა ხანელით არტანუჯ და აღგრებულ იყო ბადდადელითა მის ყრუობითგან. იგი განაზლა აშოტ და აღაშენა ეგრეთვე ციხედ და შინა გერძო მისსა ქუეშეთ აღაშენა ქალაქი. და აღაშენა ციხესა მას შინა ეკლესია წმიდათა მოციქულთა პეტრესი და პავლესი და შექმნა მას შინა ხაფლაგი თჯი. და დაემკვდრა ციხესა მას შინა ('And [Ashot] was sovereign over Šavšet'i and Cholarzene ... And he found in the forests of Cholarzene a certain rock, where originally Vaxtang Gorgasal had built a fortress named Artanuji, which had subsequently been destroyed under Qru of Baghdad. Ashot renewed and rebuilt it as a fortress, and below, before it, he built a city. And inside that castle he built the church of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, and made his sepulture inside it. And he established himself to reside in that castle'). — For *Murvan Qru*, and the confusion of Iberian historiography in connexion with him, see III/III § 8 at n. 48.

<sup>216</sup> Sumbat 344: ეუფლა ქუეყანათა ვიდრე კარადმდე.

<sup>217</sup> *Chron. Iber.* 252-253: მოვიდა გრიგოლ კანეთით, და გრიგოლს უმუელებს მთიულთა და წანართა და ამირამან რფილეღმან. და შეიბნეს ქსანსა ზედა აშოტ და გრიგოლ. გააქციეს გრიგოლ, მთავარი კანეთისა, და დაიბყრეს ქუეყანა, რღმელი ჰქონდა ქართლისაგან. და დაიბყრა აშოტ გლარჯეთითგან ვიდრე ქსანამდე ('Gregory came from Kakhetia, and was aided by the Mt'iulians, the Canarians, and the Emir of Tiflis. And Ashot and Gregory encountered on the K'sani, and Gregory, Prince of Kakhetia, was defeated; and the land he had held in Iberia seized; and Ashot possessed himself of [the territory] from Cholarzene to the K'sani'). — Kakhetia, once a duchy, then the appanage of the Chosroids, became, after their extinction in the early ninth century,

Cholarzene to Tiflis, including the mountainous region';<sup>218</sup> all of which means that, besides Inner Iberia, his fief as Presiding Prince, he also held Samts'khe and Trialet'i: indeed his son Guaram likewise ruled these lands.<sup>219</sup> Whereas Samts'khe was a part of the Guaramid succession, perhaps acquired already by Adarnase I,<sup>220</sup> Trialet'i had until the disappearance of Vitaxae of Gogarene, at the end of the eighth century, been a part of their State.<sup>221</sup> Now, together with other parts (as will be seen presently) it passed, in circumstances unknown to history, to the Bagratids. Still other parts of the former Vitaxate passed to others rulers. Dzorap'or remained, still in the tenth century, in the House of Gardman, descended in the female line from the Mihranids, until its dispossession by King Ashot II of Armenia (914-928).<sup>222</sup> But, even before that, the principedom of Gardman must have suffered diminution, for, in the upheavals of the eighth century, the tribe of the Sevordik', apparently of Magyar origin, bursting through the Caucasus, settled on the right bank of the Cyrus and formed three principedoms, between the Berduji and the Shamkhor river, which gradually expanded up the valleys until, in the thirteenth-fourteenth century, the valley of the Berduji (Tsobap'or) was also known as the Valley of the Sevordik'.<sup>223</sup> Two other regions of Lower Iberia once held, in part at least, by the Vitaxae were Gardabani and Gach'iani. The former became independent of Iberia and gravitated, undeterred by Ashot the Great's victory, towards Kakhetia across the Cyrus.<sup>224</sup> And Gach'iani, as well as

an independent principality: IV/I § 8, III § 17, 26, IV § 31, 33, n. 37; Gugushvili *Chron.-Geneal. Table* 136-137 — Tiflis was an Arab emirate, the origins of which went back to the establishment of the Caliph's suzerainty over Iberia in the seventh century: cf. Allen, *History* 80-82; Minorsky *Tiflis* 752-755; D. Lang, *Studies* 12-17.

<sup>218</sup> Vardan 78: Բայց կիւրապադաւան Սշոռ տիրեաց 'ի Կադրջաց մինչև 'ի Տփլիս, լեռնակողմամբն հանդերձ.

<sup>219</sup> *Infra* at nn. 230, 234.

<sup>220</sup> Cf. *supra* n. 126.

<sup>221</sup> Since Juanšer's reference to 'certain Vitaxae,' in the 780s, has now been interpreted as referring to the Armenian Bagratids (*supra* n. 64), the last references to them, of which only the first is certain, are those listed under No. 12 in II Appendix A II. The House of Gogarene must have perished, like the Guaramids and the Chosroids, in the turmoil of revolt and repression of the closing years of the eighth century: cf. *supra* § 13. — For Trialet'i, see *supra* § 14 at n. 130; § 16 at n. 159.

<sup>222</sup> John Kath. 309, 310, 313. — The genealogy of the Third Dynasty of Gardman, descended from the daughter of the last Mihranid, Varaz-Tiridates († 821), will be found in Justi *Namenbuch* 427. — For the annexation of the Principality of Gardman by Armenia, see John Kath. 309-314.

<sup>223</sup> In Ps. Vardan, *Geogr.* 435. For the Sewordik', see Markwart, *Streifzüge* 34-40, 428, 496; *Skizzen* 35; Laurent, *Arménie* 23-24.

<sup>224</sup> It is not always easy to discern whether the *Gardabani* of a Georgian source denotes the Iberian province or the Armeno-Albanian principedom of Gardman (cf. *supra* § 19). But

occasionally Gardabani, fell, as will be seen presently, into the Armenian sphere. As for Ashot the Great, he held, finally, not only his father's Eru-shet'i or West Javakhet'i, but also its eastern counterpart, which, too, had once belonged to the Vitaxae;<sup>225</sup> it, also, was later his son Guaram's domain.<sup>226</sup>

Shortly before his death in 830, Ashot was ousted from the Principate by the Arabs and, for a while apparently, was also deprived of his domains in Lower Iberia, being thus reduced to his Meschian lands.<sup>227</sup> To these, and then also to those of Lower Iberia, and ultimately to the Principate, his sons succeeded him. They are, at his death, specifically mentioned as ruling Shavshet'i, Cholarzene with Artanuji, and Nigali.<sup>228</sup> This reference need not possibly be taken as exclusive of other territory: it may merely indicate that these three Acampsian regions, lying as they did on the Byzantine frontier, were the stable nucleus of the Bagratid possessions at that moment. Ashot's three sons divided these possessions between them and founded three separate lines of the dynasty.

22. Of these, the eldest Adarnase II must have held, with the exception of Shavshet'i and Lower Tao, all the lands west of the Arsiani Mountains: that was the totality of his posterity's possessions. The second son Bagrat I, the founder of the Line, or House, of Iberia, succeeded his father as Presiding Prince of Iberia and Byzantine Curopalate and, consequently, as the holder of the Duchy of Inner Iberia. What portion of the Hereditary Lands was his in the division is nowhere directly indicated. The sources are

It appears certain that the former is meant in the *Chron. Iber.* when Ašot the Great, having taken the territory from Cholarzene to the K'sani river (*supra* n. 217), upon the defeat of the Prince of Kakhetia, was slain in Gardabani: 252-253; and when the Gardabanians are mentioned as allies and dependents of Kakhetia: 254, 255, 262, 268.

<sup>225</sup> *Supra* § 14 at n. 130; § 15.

<sup>226</sup> Sumbat 343: Ašot stayed in Javaxet'i on the shores of lake P'anavari. — For Guaram's possessions, see *infra* at n. 230.

<sup>227</sup> Sumbat 345: და შემდგომად აშოტის ზიკუდილბა მამისა მათისა რუმელ გარეთ ქუეყანა ჰქონდა წაუღეს ხარკინლზთა რამეთუ იყუნეს იგანი უხრულ ახაკითა ('And after the death of Ašot, their father, what exterior land he had held was taken by the Saracens, because they [*scil.* the sons of Ašot] were not yet come of age'). The 'exterior land' (*garel' k'ueqana*) designates for the family historiographer the territories other than the Hereditary Lands of the dynasty: cf. Javaxišvili, *K'arf. er. ist.* II 272. Elsewhere, Sumbat makes it clear (342-344) that it was Ašot himself, not his sons, who lost Iberia to the Arabs. The seizure of Iberia by Hālid ibn Yazīd before the death of Ašot is reported in *Chron. Iber.* 253.

<sup>228</sup> Sumbat 345-346: და გოდრე უხრულლდა იყუნეს იგინი ახაკითა იზრდებოდეს გიწება შინა არტანუჯისა და იყუნეს ხარკის მიმცემელ ხარკინლზთა ყოველნივე გეგნი შავშეთ-გლარჯეთ-ნიგალისანი ('And until they [*scil.* Ašot's sons] attained their majority, they were brought up in the castle of Artanuji, and all the valleys of Šavšet'i, Cholarzene, and Nigali paid tribute to the Saracens').

content to mention his and his successors' accession to the Principate and the Curopalatate, and furnish us with little further data on what particular lands they possessed in addition. However, it is known that Bagrat's grandson Adarnase IV held a part of Tao;<sup>229</sup> at the same time Kola never figures in the sources as belonging to other branches. It can thus be assumed that Kola and what we shall see to have been Lower Tao formed the demesne of Bagrat I and devolved upon his heirs.

Guaram, the youngest son of Ashot the Great, 'possessed himself of Javakhet'i, Trialet'i, Tashiri and Abots'i, and Artani.'<sup>230</sup> His father and grand father are not known to have held Tashir and Ashots'; these lands lay outside the Guaramid State, but had formed (except moments of independence) the most important section of the Vitaxate of Gogarene. No doubt, it was the fall of the House of Gogarene that occasioned their passing into Bagratid hands, exactly like the passing of Trialet'i one generation earlier. Ashots', however, had first been acquired in 772 by the Armenian Bagratids; did it now come to Guaram through his wife, a daughter of Smbat VII?<sup>231</sup> For the rest, it is indeed not improbable that it was as a successor of the Vitaxae that Guaram was styled *mamp'al*.<sup>232</sup> Guaram, moreover must have held Shavset'i, for it subsequently belonged to his son Nasr;<sup>233</sup> and he is mentioned as building fortresses in Samts'khe, which also belonged to his son.<sup>234</sup> Guaram, accordingly, was lord of the Meschian lands east of the Arsiani, except Kola, but with Shavshet'i west of that range, as also of western and central parts of Lower Iberia.

Before 876, Guaram divided some of his seigniories among his brothers and also ceded Ashots' to his brother-in-law, Ashot, later, first Bagratid King of Armenia.<sup>235</sup> It seems very probable that Tashir, which never again

<sup>229</sup> *Infra* n. 249.

<sup>230</sup> *Chron. Iber.* 257: ზოლო გუარამს დაეპყრა ჯავახეთი, თრიალეთი, ტაშირი და აბოცი, და არტანი. Cf. Merç'ule 42 (where especially Guaram's sovereignty in Javakhet'i is mentioned). — Guaram 'possessed himself' (*daepqra*) of his territories, in the words of the *Chron. Iber.*, because some of them had been lost by his father and now recovered and others — Tašir and Ašoc' — he must indeed have acquired himself.

<sup>231</sup> Vardan 76 (*supra* n. 63); cf. *Bagr. of Iber.* I No. 7.

<sup>232</sup> Cf. II Appendix A II (11).

<sup>233</sup> *Infra* at n. 240.

<sup>234</sup> *Chron. Iber.* 261. These three castles, Ojrxē, Juaris-c'ixe, and Lomsiant'a must have been merely *rebuilt* by Guaram.

<sup>235</sup> *Chron. Iber.* 257: ზოლო გუარამ განუყვნა ქუეყანანი ძმათა თჳხთა ადარნახეს და ბაგრატს, და აბოცი განუყო ცოლის ძმასა თჳხსა ზომესთა მეფესა ('And Guaram allotted lands to his brothers, Adarnase and Bagrat; and Ašoc'i he allotted to his wife's brother the King of Armenia'): he may simply have thus returned his wife's dowry: *supra* at n. 321.



figures among the lands of the Iberian Bagratids, but is soon thereafter mentioned among those of their Armenian cousins, was likewise included in the transaction. The rise of the Fourth Armenian Monarchy of the Bagratids, coinciding with the comparative weakness of the divided Georgian lands, was bound, once more, to effect a shift of the frontier line between the two nations. Guaram's action may well have been the result of a diplomatic aspect of this renewed offensive. But we hear a good deal about its political aspect, too. As ever, it is Gogarene that is reclaimed by the rising power. And so we see the Kings of Armenia of the ninth and tenth centuries constantly striving in the face of obvious local insubordination, to assert their authority over the lands of the former Vitaxate and farther to the north: over the former Duchy of Samshvilde — the land of Gach'iani with its chief fortress that gave the duchy its name — and even over that of Khunani — the land of Gardabani — to the very banks of the Cyrus and the city of Tiflis, an Arab emirate now.<sup>236</sup> How Guaram divided his remaining lands of T'rialet'i and Javakhet'i among his two brothers, we are not told. T'rialet'i, at all events, at that very moment escaped the Bagratids, passing c. 876, to a branch of their age-old rivals, the Mamikonids. This family is known in historiography as the Liparitids and was known to the contemporaries, but at a later epoch than that of its appearance in Iberia, as the House of Orbeli or, later still, Orbeliani.<sup>237</sup> Whether as a consequence of Guaram's division of his State, or for another reason, his son Nasr murdered in 881 his cousin the Curopalate David I, son and successor of Bagrat I. In the struggle that ensued, Nasr was defeated and slain in 888, and 'his land was seized by the other princes.'<sup>238</sup> He held Samts'khe, for thither he came to raise an army,<sup>239</sup> and also Shavshet'i and Artani, for, upon the division of his domains, Gurgen I, son of Adarnase II, 'went from Tao, from Kalmakhi his patrimony, to live in Shavshet'i and Artani.'<sup>240</sup>

<sup>236</sup> John Kath. 143, 161, 178, 200-201, 207, 271, 295-297, 316-318. By the end of the tenth century, the territory of the Vitaxate, with Lori at the centre, and several other territories were formed into a sub-kingdom which was given to Gurgēn, youngest brother of King Smbat II of Armenia: Vardan, 90. This territory, says Vardan, 'the Iberians call Somxēt' (*სომხეთი* *სამხეთი* *სომხეთი*); cf. *supra* § 16, at n. 164). For the Kingdom of Lori 'and of Albania,' see Movsēsean, *Kurikian*. — For Tiflis, see *supra* n. 217.

<sup>237</sup> *Chron. Iber* 258: და შეიპყრნა ლიპარიტ ქუეყანანი თრიალეთისანი, აღაგოც ციხე კლდე-კარნი... ('And Liparit [I] seized the lands of T'rialet'i [and] raised the Castle of Klde-Karni').<sup>238</sup> As synchronisms, the text gives the death of King John of Abasgia (c. 879: Toumanoff, *Chronology* 82) and the accession of the Curopalate David I of Iberia (*Bagr. of Iber.* I No. 6: the death of his father Bagrat I). — For the Liparitids, see II § 12.18.

<sup>238</sup> *Bagr. of Iber.* I No. 15.

<sup>239</sup> Sumbat, 347.

<sup>240</sup> *Ibid.* 348.

23. Guaram's family — the Third Line of the dynasty — came to extinction with Nasr; but the dynasty remained tripartite, because the First Line, founded by Adarnase II, had meantime become divided into two lines, stemming from his sons Gurgen I, the founder of the Line, or House, of Tao, and Sumbat I, the founder of the Line, or House, of Cholarzene, who partitioned their father's State. Gurgen I is mentioned, as we have just seen, as sovereign of Tao, with his residence at Kalmakhi. This fortress, it will be recalled, was built by the Armenian Bagratids when they penetrated into Mamikonid Tayk' from their neighbouring principedom of Syspirtis, in the eighth century.<sup>241</sup> It may now have passed to Gurgen through his Armenian Bagratid wife,<sup>242</sup> if it had not been acquired earlier by his family. Kalmakhi must have been situated in the immediate vicinity not only of Syspirtis, but also of Asisp'ori or Arseats'p'or, which Ananias of Siracene places near the Parkhar-Paryadres Mountains and in the valley of the Acampsis-Boas, in eastern Tayk',<sup>243</sup> in Upper Tao. Asisp'ori was inherited, together with Lower Tao, by Adarnase I; and since its name no longer figures thereafter in any sources dealing with the lands of the Iberian Bagratids, it seems evident that it must have been precisely the Tao of the First Line, i.e., (initially a part at least of) Upper Tao, which Gurgen I may now have augmented through the acquisition of neighbouring Kalmakhi. This implies that Lower Tao, like contiguous Kola, was the portion of the line of Bagrat I, the new Third Line. Gurgen, as has just been seen, also acquired, in 888, Shavshet'i and Artani. His younger son, Ashot II, founded the bishopric of Tbet'i in the first-named country.<sup>244</sup> The line founded by Adarnase II's son Sumbat I — the Second Line — reigned in Cholarzene and resided at Artanuji, now become a great emporial city.<sup>245</sup> This line also held Achara and Nigali: Sumbat I's younger son David was appanaged in them.<sup>246</sup>

<sup>241</sup> *Supra* § 8 at nn. 62-64.

<sup>242</sup> Cf. *Bagr. of Iber* I No. 8: she was a sister of the wife of Guaram; cf. *supra* at n. 231.

<sup>243</sup> Ananias 35; cf. *supra* n. 126. Instead of Voh (Boas), the text of Ananias has Yoh.

<sup>244</sup> Sumbat 349; cf. *Bagr. of Iber*. I No. 19.

<sup>245</sup> Const. Porphy. 216; cf. *Bagr. of Iber*. I No. 25.

<sup>246</sup> Const. Porphy. 214, lines 4-6: *Καὶ ἔλαχεν τὸ Ἀρδανούτζι εἰς κληρονομίαν τῷ Παγκρατίῳ, τῷ δὲ Δαυίδ ἔλαχεν ἑτέρα χώρα* (cf. *Bagr. of Iber*. I No. 23), 220, lines 117-119: *Ὁ οὖν Δαυίδ, ὁ μέγας, τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χώραν οὐκ ἐδίδον τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ τάχα συνορῇ τὴν τοῦρμαν τοῦ Ἀκαμψῆ καὶ τῇ Μονεργούλῃ*. Of the two Byzantine thematic subdivisions dependent on the theme of Chaldia and mentioned here as marching upon David's appanage, the *turma* of Acampsis lay, approximately, across the river Acampsis from Cholarzene and Šavšet'i; that of Murgule, in the valley of the Murgul-su, was the western neighbour of Nigali and Ačara: cf. Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 359; Honigsmann, *Ostgrenze* 54 and Map IV (where Nigali is not expressly shown). Šavšet'i, belonging to the State of Tao, Nigali and Ačara, not assigned in the sources to any other Bagratid of the time, must thus have formed

In the division of Nasr's land in 888, Samts'khe may have passed to the Third Line, to the son of the slain David I, Adarnase IV. Neither Gurgen I nor Sumbat I, heads of the two elder lines are mentioned as having taken it. In that same year 888, Adarnase IV restored the Iberian Monarchy, dormant from 580, but c. 904, his kingdom was wrested from him by his son-in-law, King Constantine III of Abasgia, who then proceeded to attack the now Armenian lands of the Vitaxate.<sup>247</sup> It seems likely that Samts'khe, whether or no it had been previously acquired by Adarnase, was likewise annexed to Abasgia: it was, at any rate, a part of that kingdom in the years 968-976.<sup>248</sup> But the bulk of Adarnase's portion of the Hereditary Lands does not seem to have been under attack; it must still have consisted of Lower Tao, Kola, and (as will be seen presently) Javakhet'i.<sup>249</sup> His political weight was, accordingly, not altogether impaired, and he continued to play a certain role in Caucasian affairs.<sup>250</sup>

24. The Ceremonial Book of the Emperor Constantine VII contains a valuable information regarding the configuration of the Hereditary Lands of the Iberian Bagratids at this time. The section dealing with the ceremonial formulae of address employed by the Imperial Chancellery for various foreign rulers has a paragraph on Iberia. It shows that, at the time, there were, besides the Curopalate of Iberia and subordinate to him, four other princes, the names of whose States it gives, in two cases out of four, in barbarously distorted forms. The relevant part of the text is as follows:

Ἐχει δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν ὁ κουροπαλάτης ἑτέρας ἐξουσίας δ'. Εἰς τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ Βεριασάχ, Ἰβηρία· εἰς τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ Καρνάτης, Ἰβηρία· εἰς τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ Κούελ, Ἰβηρία· εἰς τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ Ἀτζαρά, Ἰβηρία. [follows the formula of address]<sup>251</sup>.

that appanage. Indeed, it will be seen that for a brief moment, in the years 920-922, Ačara (no doubt together with Nigali) was known to the Imperial Chancellery at Constantinople as a separate principedom: *infra*, § 24. Cf. also Jenkins, *Const. Porphyr. De Adm. Imp.* II 180.

<sup>247</sup> *Chron. Iber.* 262-263 (seizure of Iberia and its sequel: the complications with Smbat I of Armenia and the Sājids); John Kath. 200-215 (parallel to the same story, with this difference, that while the Georgian source speaks of the conquest of Iberia alone, the Armenian mentions only that of Gogarene and omits all mention of that of Iberia); cf. Javaxišvili, *K'art' er. isl.* II 383; Grousset, *Histoire* 428-432, 436.

<sup>248</sup> *Chron. Iber* 270: Prince Theodosius, in revolt against his brother King Demetrius III of Abasgia (968/9-975/6: Toumanoff, *Chronology* 82), came from the Empire to Samc'xe.

<sup>249</sup> John Kath. 185: Smbat I of Armenia took refuge 'ի կողմանս ամրոցացն Տայոց 'ի կալուածս կուրապաղապահն Արմենքսէի' սիրեցեւոյն իւրոյ ('in the castle-land of Tayk', the possession of the Curopalate Atrnerseh, his friend'), 207 (Adarnase taking refuge in the castles of Tayk', in 907) — For Kola, see *supra* § 22; for Javaxet'i, *infra* § 24.

<sup>250</sup> Cf. John Kath. 144-146, 184-185, 197, 200-203, 206-208, 265, 267-269, 271, 308-310.

<sup>251</sup> *De cerim* 2.48.

The epoch reflected in this text is easily determinable. The imperial bulls are written in the names of the Emperors Constantine [VII] and Romanus [I]; consequently, in the period of 920-922.<sup>252</sup> The Bagratid sovereigns of this period were:

1. Adarnase IV, King (from 888) and Curopalate (from 891) of Iberia († 923);
2. Gurgen II, Duke of Tao (918-941), grandson of Gurgen I of Tao;
3. Gurgen I, Duke of Cholarzene (900-923), grandson of Sumbat I of Cholarzene
4. David († 937), eldest son and ultimate successor of Adarnase IV, qualified already in an inscription of 897 as a Duke: his territory will be determined presently;
5. David († 943), uncle of Gurgen of Cholarzene, appanaged (from 889) with Achara and Nigali.

Attempts have not been lacking on the part of scholars<sup>253</sup> to identify the names of the Byzantine document. Since all these guesses were made without reference to the dynastic realities of contemporary Iberia, they were only partly successful. The State *τοῦ Καρπατίας* stands for Tao: not the part of it — Lower Tao — belonging to the Curopalate and thus inseparable from his State, but the part of the First Line — Upper Tao. The whole of Tao was called not only Parkhali (after the mountains), but also Taos-

<sup>252</sup> The composite character of the Ceremonial Book of Constantine VII (edited before 959) is well known; thus, Vogt, *Le Livre des Cérémonies* II xxvi: 'Les deux chapitres de Diplomatie ... sont, si l'on peut dire, des chapitres passe-partout, qui entrèrent, probablement tels quels, dans le *Livre des Cérémonies*, sans avoir été refondus et agencés en vue d'une œuvre définitive.' And F. Dolger has analyzed the references to the Bulgarian rulers in Chaps. 47-48 and been able to discern four different groups of sources reflecting different epochs. Of these groups, I and II (in chap. 47) date from the years 922-924, when, as is indicated by the relative position of the two, Romanus I was Emperor-regnant and Constantine VII a co-Emperor: *Die mittelalterliche 'Familie der Fürsten und Völker'* 173-175; *Bulgarenherrscher* 186-187, 193-195. Group IV (the later of the two formulae of address in Chap. 48) dates from 945-959, when Constantine VII was Emperor-regnant and his son Romanus II a co-Emperor: *Familie d. Fürsten* 172-173; *Bulgarenherrscher* 185, 194. Finally, Group III (the earlier of the two formulae in Chap. 48) dates from 920-922, when Constantine VII was Emperor-regnant and Romanus I a co-Emperor: *Familie* 172; *Bulgarenherrscher* 185-186, 193. The above formulae of address, concerned with the Iberian dynasts, belong, because of the relative position of the two imperial names, to one of the two periods when Constantine was Emperor-regnant. That, together with the Bulgarian group III, they belong to the earlier period, i.e., the years 920-922, is amply clear from the fact that at no other time were there four separate States, under the Curopalate's suzerainty, in Iberia.

<sup>253</sup> Brosset, Markwart, Honigsmann.

Kar(n)i (after a place in the extreme north of it).<sup>254</sup> The Greek term is a disfigured rendering of a metathesis of that name. The State *τοῦ Βεργιασάχ* stands for Cholarzene. The Greek term, as has already been surmised, is a rendering of the Armenian *verin ašxarh* or 'upper country'.<sup>255</sup> The Georgian equivalents of these words designated several regions. As *zena sop'eli*, it was the older name of *šida k'ar'li* or Inner Iberia.<sup>256</sup> As *zemoni k'ueqasani*, it has been applied to the Armenian highlands just south of Upper Tao.<sup>257</sup> As *zemo k'ueqana* and, in Armenian, *leynakołm*, it has been used of, precisely, Cholarzene.<sup>258</sup> The importance which the Imperial Court attached to this State<sup>259</sup> must be the reason for its being mentioned before Tao, especially prior to Gurgen II's expansionist activities. The State *τοῦ Κούελ* stands for Javakhet'i, so named after its fortress of Qveli or Qvelis-ts'ikhe, elsewhere referred to by Constantine by its Greek equivalent of *Τυρόκαστρον*.<sup>260</sup> The custom of naming duchies after their chief fortresses was an ancient one, it suffices to remember Khunani, Samshvilde, Odzrkhe, Tsunda. Cholarzene's

<sup>254</sup> *Supra* n. 56. — Georgian toponymy is not infrequently marked by a wavering between the singular and (the more archaic) plural form, e.g., Armazni/Armazi, Klde-karni/Klde-kari, Tasis-karni/Tasis-kari: cf. Melikset-Bekov, *Armazni*, 11.

<sup>255</sup> Cf. Markwart. *Skizzen* 50 n. 100.

<sup>256</sup> Leont. Mrov. 10: უწოდა ამაჲ ქუეყანაჲ ზენა-ხოფლითა, რომელსა აწ ჰქვან შიდა-ქართლი ('that land he named Upper Country, which to-day is called Inner Iberia'); Juanšer 242: ზენა-ხოფელი, რომელ არს ქართლი ('the Upper Country, which is Iberia'); Ananias 28: ... *Կուր ... իջանէ ՚ի Սամբիէ և դառնայ արեւելս՝ անցանէ ևով ընդ վերին աշխարհն վրայ* ... ('... the Cyrus... comes down to Same'xe and turns east to pass through the upper country of Iberia ...').

<sup>257</sup> George Hagior. 19: და მაშინ მიხცნეს მეფემან პერძენთამან ზემონი ქუეყანანი ზაბერძნითიანი კურაპალატსა ('And then the Emperor gave to the Curopalate the upper lands of the Empire'). This donation consisted of lands in Byzantine Armenia: cf. Honigmann, *Ostgrenze* 150-151. Fr Peeters is in error here when he identifies these 'upper lands' with Upper Iberia: *Hist. mon. géorg.* 17 n. 2 (cf. p. 22).

<sup>258</sup> *Chron. Iber.* 298: Bagrat IV's insurgent brother Demetrius, just come from the Empire, 'came to the upper land and descended into Iberia' (მოვიდა ზემო ქუეყანა და ჩამოვიდა ქართლს); Vardan 78 (*supra* n. 218). To be sure, both these texts can be interpreted as referring to Upper Iberia or Meschia in general (in the former, 'Iberia' must mean only Inner and Lower Iberia, as distinct from Meschia). But the use of the expression 'rocks of Cholarzene' (*kldeni klarjef'isani*) in Juanšer (177, 217, 226) shows that Cholarzene may well have been the upper or mountainous land *par excellence*. At all events, there was in the years 920-922, no single Iberian principedom comprising the whole of Meschia, but there was indeed that of Cholarzene. — Markwart, *Skizzen* 50 n. 100, with only Ananias of Siracene (*supra* n. 256) in view, identified *Βεργιασάχ* with Inner Iberia; Honigmann, *Ostgrenze* Map. IV, follows him. Inner Iberia was at that time a province annexed to the Abasgian kingdom.

<sup>259</sup> Cf. Const. Porphy., *De adm. imp.* cap. 46.

<sup>260</sup> *Ibid* 214, line 14 (*infra* n. 264); cf. Honigmann, *op. cit.* 148 n. 4.





death in 941, the eldest line of the dynasty came to extinction; and his State, in default of heirs male, was partitioned among the other Bagratids and also the King of Abasgia, 'each taking what was nearest to him.'<sup>266</sup> Accordingly, Cholarzene reverted to its original ruling house.<sup>267</sup> And Tao, i.e., Upper Tao: the State of the First Line, passed to the House of Iberia. The Curopalate Ashot II, its then head, claimed and received from the Emperor, c. 952, the Armenian canton of Phasiane, neighbouring upon Upper Tao in the south;<sup>268</sup> the latter land was consequently then also his. Artani and Shavshet'i and what part of Javakhet'i Gurgun II had seized now passed, likewise, to the House of Iberia: they were in it two generations later. The only remaining territory and one nearest to Abasgia was, thus, Achara and Nigali. These, accordingly, must have fallen to the King of Abasgia, instead of reverting to the House of Cholarzene.

26. The Iberian Bagratids seemed destined to be divided into three lines. Within two decades of Gurgun II's death and the extinction of the first House of Tao, the House of Iberia became divided into two lines, founded by two of the brothers of the Curopalate Ashot II, sons of Adarnase IV. They partitioned not only the domains, but also the dignities of their house. So far as the lands were concerned, the elder of the two lines, the second House of Tao, stemming from the Prince Bagrat († 945), held the Curopalate and most of the Hereditary Lands: Upper Tao, Javakhet'i, Kola, Artani, Shavshet'i, also Phasiane; while the younger, the House of Iberia, stemming from the Curopalate Sumbat I († 958), was invested with the Crown of Iberia —

<sup>265</sup> Sumbat 350.

<sup>266</sup> Const. Porphyg. 214, line 22 — 216, line 28 : *Τελευτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ μαγίστρου Κουρκενίου, κατελείφθη τὸ Ἀρδανούτζι τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ, τῇ τοῦ πατρικίου Ἀσωτίου, τοῦ καὶ Κισκάση, θυγατρὶ ὡς πατρικὸν αὐτῆς. Ὅτε δὲ διεμέριζον τὴν χώραν τοῦ μαγίστρου Κουρκενίου μεθ' ὅλων, ὃ τε Ἀσώτιος ὁ κουροπαλάτης καὶ ὁ μάγιστρος Γεώργιος, ὁ ἔξουσιαστὴς Ἀβασγίας καὶ ὁ μάγιστρος Παγκράτιος, ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ προορηθέντος κουροπαλάτου, ἦλθον εἰς συμβίβασιν, καὶ ἐπῆρεν ἕκαστος τὸ πλησιάζον αὐτῷ.*

<sup>267</sup> *Ibid.* 216, lines 28-34 : *Τὸ δὲ Ἀρδανούτζιν ἐπλησίαζεν τῷ Συμβατίῳ, τῷ τοῦ προορηθέντος Δαυὶδ υἱῷ. Τότε ἐκράτησαν πάντες τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ μαγίστρου Κουρκενίου, ἥγον τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ πατρικίου Ἀσωτίου, τοῦ καὶ Κισκάση, λέγοντες, ὡς εἶπ'· 'Σὺ γυνὴ οὐσα οὐ δύνασαι κρατεῖν τὸ κάστρον.' Τότε δέδωκεν ὁ Συμβατίος εἰς ἀντιστήκωσιν τοῦ κάστρου χωρία τῇ γυναικὶ, καὶ ἀνελάβετο τὸ τοιοῦτον κάστρον τὸ Ἀρδανούτζιν. — It was Sumbat II, son of David of Achara-Nigali, who gathered the succession. Possibly, this accession to the major possession of his house made him acquiesce in the passing of Achara and Nigali to the King of Abasgia, as will be seen in a moment.*

<sup>268</sup> *Ibid.* 210-214. — For Phasiane (Arm. Basean, Georg. Basiani) see: Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen* 362-363; Jenkins, *Const. Porphyg. De Adm. Imp.* II 173. — It is impossible to determine what portion of the Taoan succession went to Bagrat, the Curopalate Ashot II's brother, but a portion of it must have gone to him according to Constantine Porphyg. 216 (*supra* n. 266). This Ashot II was the second son of Adarnase IV: *Bagr. of Iber.* I No. 35.

in a purely titular capacity after the Abasgian conquest of 904 — and ruled its demesne of Lower Tao.<sup>269</sup> The last prince of the elder line, the Curopalate David the Great († 1000) received also, in 979, for his lifetime only, a considerable territory in Byzantine Armenia: this was the Emperor Basil II's gift for his military aid — 12,000 troops — furnished during the revolt of Bardas Sclerus.<sup>270</sup> Not being part of the marchlands, this acquisition lies outside the scope of this Study. David, being childless, adopted the future Bagrat III, great-grandson of Sumbat I of Iberia, then still the heir of the younger line and, through his mother, eventual claimant of the throne of Abasgia, as well. In the person of the young Prince Bagrat, thus, three great successions were to converge: the Crowns of Iberia and Abasgia (the former, at the time, being *de facto* included in the latter), and the Curopalatate: all the Hereditary Lands, save Cholarzene, and most of the Georgian lands.<sup>271</sup>

Thereafter, the Iberian Bagratids moved from strength to strength. In 975, they regained Iberia from the weakening House of Abasgia; in 978, the young Bagrat succeeded to the Abasgian throne; in 1000, upon the death of the Curopalate David, he gathered the inheritance of the second House of Tao and the Curopalatate; and in 1008, upon the death of his father, King Gurgen of Iberia, he succeeded him and thus united East and West Georgia.<sup>272</sup> Finally, in 1011, he quite ruthlessly dispossessed the House of Artanuji-Cholarzene and annexed that State to his own.<sup>273</sup> And so, what was broken

<sup>269</sup> Sumbat 352: გარდაიცვალა დავით დიდი კუროპალატი ... და არა ესუა ძე და აღტრდა იმიერ ტაო ('The Curopalate David the Great passed away ... and had no son; and Thither Tao was left desolate'), 358: და ქუეყანანი დავით კუროპალატიხა ნაქონები, ტაოხ, ბასიანს, და ჯავახეთს, შავშეთს ('And the lands that belonged to the Curopalate David, Tao, Phasiane, and Javaxet'i, Šavšet'i'); *Chron. Iber.* 275: უშვილო იყო დავით კარაპალატი, და ბაგრატ გაეზარდა შვილად, მპეროებელად ღრისავე კერძოხა ტაოხა ('The Curopalate David was childless, and he brought up Bagrat as [his] son, to be the lord of both sides of Tao'), 288: და ქუეყანა, რომელი ჰქონდა დავით კუროპალიტხა ტაოხთა, ბასიანს, კოლა-არტანთა და ჯავახეთს ('And the land that had belonged to the Curopalate David in Tao, Phasiane, Kola-Artani, Javaxet'i'). — All this testimony leaves Bagrat III's own line, the House of Iberia, with but 'this side' of Tao, i.e., Lower Tao. It is this that Sumbat refers to, when he records (352), on the death of Bagrat III's father, that the former 'became lord of Tao, his patrimony.'

<sup>270</sup> Cf., e.g., Honigsmann, *Ostgrenze* 150-151; *supra* n. 257.

<sup>271</sup> For these events see, e.g., Avalichvili, *Succession du curop. David d'Ibérie*.

<sup>272</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>273</sup> Sumbat 352-353: ამან ბაგრატ კუროპალატმან მოიყუანა გლარჯნი გელმ-წიფენი სუმბატ და გურგენ ძენი ბაგრატ არტანუჯელისანი თხსნი მამის დის-წულისანი ღარბაზობად მის წინაშე ციხესა შინა ფანასკერტისასა და მუნ შინა შეიბყრნა იგინი და აღიზუნა ქუეყანანი და ციხენი მათნი. რამეთუ იგინი პარტიმარ ყუნა ციხესა შინა თმოგვისასა; და მუნ ციხესა შინა თმოგვისასა [ა] გარდაიცვალა სუმბატ არტანუჯელი, ქორღნიგონსა ზ'ლ'ა; და გვრეთვე მასვე წელსა შინა გურგენა გარდაიცვალა მმა სუმბატისი, ქორღნიგონსა ზ'ლ'ბ. ზლ-

up upon the death of Ashot I the Great in 830 was reunited in 1008 by Bagrat III and, more than that, joined by him, for the first time in history, with West Georgia. Only three Georgian territories remained outside the newly-born realm of Georgia: Kakhetia, the Vitaxate with Lori — both become kingdoms ruled by cadet branches of the Armenian Bagratids, — and the Emirate of Tiflis. The task of annexing these was left to Bagrat III's successors, the Bagratids of United Georgia.

## APPENDIX

### CHRONOLOGY OF THE ARMENO-GEORGIAN MARCHLANDS

**TAYK'-TAO.** — Originally Mamikonid (?). — To Pharnabazid Iberia ivth/ivrd c. B.C. — To Artaxiad Armenia: iind c. B.C. — Mamikonid. — Upper Tao Bagratid and Lower Tao Iberian Guaramid: after 772. — Lower Tao and Asispori (from Upper Tao), in part at least, (Iberian) Bagratid: 786/807. — Entire Tao (Iberian) Bagratid: 813/30.

**KOLA-KOL.** — In the Iberian Duchy of Cunda: ivth/ivrd c. B.C. — To Artaxiad Armenia: iind c. B.C. — To Iberia: 1st century. — A separate princely State. — To Armenia: by the viith c. — To Iberia by 791. — (Iberian) Bagratid: 813/30.

**CHOLARZENE.** — To Pharnabazid Iberia, and made a Duchy: ivth/ivrd c. B.C. — To Artaxiad Armenia: iind c. B.C. — (To the Empire?) — To Iberia: 1st century. — To Arsacid Armenia, and included in the Vitaxate of the North: c. iind c. — To Iberia: 363/87. — To the Empire: c. 378. — To Iberia: 482/8. — In the Archduchy: 522. — Guaramid: c. 530. — (Iberian) Bagratid: in part at least, 786/807; definitively, 813/30.

**ARTANI-ARTAHAN.** — In the Iberian Duchy of Cunda: ivth/ivrd c. B.C. — To Artaxiad Armenia: iind c. B.C. — To Iberia: 1st century. — To Arsacid Armenia, and included in the Vitaxate: c. iind c. — To Iberia: 363/87. — In the Archduchy: 522. — Guaramid: c. 530. — (Iberian) Bagratid: in part, c. 780 and 786/807; definitively, 813/30.

ლო შვილნი ამათნი წარვიდეს კახტანტინებოლედ, მე ზუმბარტისი ბაგრატ და მე გურგენისი დემეტრე ბასილი მეფისა წინაშე და მათნივე შვილნი კლარჯთა მეფეთანი რომელ დაშთეს ამათ ქუეყანასა მოიხრნეს ყოველნი სიკუდილითა პარტიმრებასა შინა ('And the Curopalate Bagrat brought to the Court, into his presence, to the Castle of Panaskerti, his [adopted grand]-father's sister's sons, the Cholarzenian sovereigns Sumbat and Gurgen, sons of Bagrat of Artanuji. And there he seized them and took away their lands and castles. And he kept them captive in the Castle of Tmogvi and there, in the Castle of Tmogvi, Sumbat of Artanuji passed away, A.I. 231 [1011]. And in the same way, within the same year, Gurgen, brother of Sumbat, also passed away, A.I. 232 [1012]. But their children went away to Constantinople — the son of Sumbat, Bagrat, and Demetrius the son of Gurgen — to the Emperor Basil. And those royal children of Cholarzene that remained in that land were all exterminated in deadly captivity').

**JAVAXET'I-JAWAXK'.** — In the Iberian Duchy of Cunda: ivth/ivrd c. B.C. — East J. to Artaxiad Armenia, and included in the Vitaxate: iind B.C. — East J. to Iberia: 1st century. — East J. to Arsacid Armenia, and included in the Vitaxate: c. iind c. — East J. to Iberia: 363/87. — West (Erusset'i) in the Archduchy: 522. — Entire Javaxet'i Guaramid: c. 530. — West J. (Iberian) Bagratid: c. 780. — Entire Javaxet'i (Iberian) Bagratid: 813/30.

**T'RIALET' T'relk'** — In the Vitaxate: viia c. — (Iberian) Bagratid: 813/30. — Mamikonid-Liparitid: 876.

**GAČ'IANI.** — In the Iberian Duchy of Samšvilde: ivth/ivrd c. B.C. — South-West G. in the Vitaxate: ivth c. — (Armenian) Bagratid: 888, 914/8.

**GARDABANI.** — The Iberian Duchy of Xunani: ivth/ivrd c. B.C. — South G. in the Vitaxate: ivth c. — Claimed by Kakhetia: ixth c.: by Armenia: xth c.

**AŠOC'-ABOC'I.** — Gušarid. — To Pharnabazid Iberia, and included in the Duchy of Samšvilde: ivth/ivrd c. B.C. — To Artaxiad Armenia, and included in the Vitaxate: iind c. B.C. — To Iberia, with the Vitaxate: 1st century. — To Arsacid Armenia, with the Vitaxate: c. iind c. — A separate princely State: ivth/vth c. — In the Vitaxate: viiith c. — (Armenian) Bagratid: 772. — (Iberian) Bagratid: 830/76. — (Armenian) Bagratid: 876.

**TAŠIR-TAŠIRI.** — Gušarid. — To Pharnabazid Iberia, and included in the Duchy of Samšvilde: ivth/ivrd c. B.C. — To Artaxiad Armenia, and included in the Vitaxate: iind c. B.C. — To Iberia, with the Vitaxate: 1st century. — To Arsacid Armenia, with the Vitaxate: c. iind c. — A separate princely State: vth c. — In the Vitaxate: viiith c. — (Iberian) Bagratid: 830/76. — (Armenian) Bagratid: 876 (?).

**GOGARENE proper (COBAP'OR and KANGARK').** — Gušarid (I Dynasty). — Vitaxate: iind/1st c. B.C. — To Iberia: 1st century. — To Arsacid Armenia: c. iind c. — To Iberia: 363/87 and Mihranid (II Dynasty). — (Iberian) Bagratid, in part at least: 813/30. — Claimed by the Armenian Bagratids: ixth c.

**KOLBAP'OR.** — Gušarid, and in the Vitaxate. — A separate princely State: ivth c. — To Albania: 363/87. — In the Vitaxate: viiith c. — To Gardman: viiith c.

**JORAP'OR.** — Gušarid, and in the Vitaxate. — A separate princely State: ivth c. — To Albania: 363/87. — To Gardman: viiith c. (?). — In the Vitaxate: 628/80. — To Gardman: viiith c.

**GARDMAN (GARDABANI).** — Under I Dynasty, to Albania 363/87. — Mihranid (II Dynasty): ivth c. — Christian: before 430 (Xurs of Gardman). — Mazdaist: c. 440 (Barzabod and Varaz-Bakur). — Christian: by 485 (Vardan I). — Mazdaist (?). — Christian: c. 570 (Vardan II). — Presiding Princes of Albania: 628 (Varaz-Gregory). — Extinct: 821 (Varaz-Tiridates II). — III Dynasty (Siunid). — (Armenian) Bagratid: 914/28.



# BIBLIOGRAPHY

## I. ABBREVIATIONS OF THE TITLES OF PERIODICALS, SERIAL PUBLICATIONS, COLLECTIONS, GENERAL WORKS OF REFERENCE, AND ENCYCLOPAEDIAS.

A	= Queen Anne Codex of the Georgian Annals [Intro. 21].
AB	= <i>Analecta Bollandiana</i> (Brussels).
ABibl	= <i>Analecta biblica</i> (Rome).
AdG	= <i>Almanach de Gotha</i> (Gotha).
AG	= <i>L'Ancienne Géorgie</i> / <i>Jveli Sak'art'velo</i> (Tiflis).
AGWG	= <i>Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse, N.F.</i> (Berlin).
AIPhH	= <i>Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire orientales et slaves</i> (Brussels).
Aktg	= <i>Akty sobrannye Kavkazskoj Arxeografičeskoj Kommissieju</i> (Tiflis).
AM	= <i>Azgayin Matenadaran</i> / <i>Nationalbibliothek</i> (Vienna).
AQ	= <i>Armenian Quarterly</i> (New York).
Ar	= <i>Armeniaca</i> (Leipzig).
At	= <i>Ararat</i> (Ejmiadzin).
B	= <i>Byzantion</i> (Brussels).
BA	= <i>Bulletin arménologique</i> ( <i>Mélanges de l'Université de Saint Joseph</i> ) (Beyrouth).
BAR	= <i>Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome</i> (Paris).
BASP	= <i>British Academy, Supplementary Papers</i> (London).
BIM	= <i>Bulletin de l'Institut Marr</i> / <i>Enis, istorisa da mater. kulturis institutl akad. N. Marisa sax.</i> (Tiflis).
BK	= <i>Bedi Kart(h)lisa. Revue de kart(h)velologie</i> (Paris).
BM	= <i>Banber Matenadaran</i> (Erivan).
BO	= <i>Biblica et orientalia</i> (Rome).
BSE	= <i>Bol'shaja sovetskaja enciklopedija</i> .
BSOAS	= <i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i> (London).
BVSGW	= <i>Berichte über Verhandlungen der königl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften</i> (Leipzig).
Ca	= <i>Eraĭ Čalašvili Codex of the Georgian Annals</i> [Intro. 21].
Ca	= <i>Caucasica</i> (Leipzig).
CAH	= <i>Cambridge Ancient History</i> (Cambridge).
CBMIB	= <i>Corpus bruxellense historiae byzantinae</i> (Brussels).
CGFAL	= <i>Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation Armenian Library</i> (Lisbon).
CHA	= <i>Collection d'historiens arméniens</i> (St Petersburg).
CHAMA	= <i>Collection des historiens anciens et modernes de l'Arménie</i> (Paris).
CHR	= <i>The Catholic Historical Review</i> (Washington).
CMH	= <i>Cambridge Medieval History</i> (Cambridge).
COS	= <i>Cambridge Oriental Series</i> (London).
CPEG	= <i>Corpus poetarum epicorum graecorum</i> (Leipzig).
GPh	= <i>Classical Philology</i> (Chicago).

- CSHB = *Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae* (Bonn).
- CSCO = *Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium* (Louvain).
- D = W. Dittenberger, *Orientalis graeci inscriptiones selectae* (Leipzig).
- DACL = *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*.
- DHGE = *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*.
- DuCange, *Gl.gr.* = C. du F. DuCange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae graecitatis* (Lyons 1688).
- EB = *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.
- EESE = *Études d'ethnographie, de sociologie et d'ethnologie* (Paris).
- EHR = *English Historical Review* (London).
- EI = *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.
- ES = *Ėnciklopedičeskij Slovar'*.
- FHG = *Fragmenta historicorum graecorum* (Paris).
- G = *Geographica* (London).
- GCS = *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller* (Leipzig).
- GHA(f) = *Genealogisches Handbuch des Adels: Fürstliche Häuser* (Glücksburg).
- HA = *Handes Amsorya* (Vienna).
- HE = *Histoire de l'Église, depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours, publiée sous la direction de: Augustin Fliche et Victor Martin* (Paris).
- HM = *Histoire du monde, publiée sous la direction de M. E. Cavaignac* (Paris).
- HMA = *Histoire du Moyen-Age (Histoire générale)* (Paris).
- HT = *Hrataraku'iwn T'ip'lisi ėnk. Hayerĕn grk'ert hrat.* (St Petersburg).
- IAAN = *Izvestija Armjanskogo Filiala Akademii Nauk SSSR* (Erevan).
- IANA = *Izvestija Akademii Nauk Armjanskogo SSSR* (Erevan).
- IANs = *Izvestija Akademii Nauk SSSR* (Moscow).
- IGA = *Izvestija Gosudarstvennoj Akademii istorii material'noj kul'tury* (Leningrad/Moscow).
- IIAN = *Izvestija Imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk* (St Petersburg).
- IKO = *Izvestija Kavkazskago Otdjelenija Imp. Moskovskago Arzeologičeskago Obščestva* (Moscow).
- IOA = *Izvestija Obščestva obsledovanija i izučenija Azerbajdžana* (Baku).
- IZ = *Istoričeskije Zapiski* (Moscow).
- JA = *Journal Asiatique* (Paris).
- JAOS = *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (Baltimore).
- JE = *Jewish Encyclopaedia*.
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- JRAS = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (London).
- K = *Klio. Beiträge zur alten Geschichte* (Leipzig).
- KAO = *Kulturgeschichte des alten Orients* (Munich).
- KGE = *Kratkaja geografičeskaja ėnciklopedija*.
- KSINA = *Kratkie soobščenija Instituta Narodov Azii Akademii Nauk SSSR* (Moscow).
- L = *Language. Journal of the Linguistic Society of America* (Baltimore).
- LCL = *The Loeb Classical Library* (London/New York).
- LeM = *Le Muséon* (Louvain).
- LM = *Lukasean Matenadaran* (Tiflis).



- LOS = *London Oriental Series* (London).  
 M = *Queen Mary Codex of the Georgian Annals* [Introd. 21].  
 MA = *Mélanges asiastiques* (St Petersburg).  
 MAK = *Materialy po arzeologii Kavkaza* (Moscow).  
 Mansi = J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*.  
 MB = *Le monde byzantin (L'évolution de l'humanité)* (Paris).  
 MBE = *Monumenta biblica et ecclesiastica* (Rome).  
 MDGKO = *Morgenland. Darstellung aus Geschichte und Kultur des Ostens* (Berlin).  
 MDO = *Mitteilungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* (Berlin).  
 MGT = *Magyar-Görög Tanulmányok* (Budapest).  
 Mn = *Memnon. Zeitschrift für Kunst- und Kultur-Geschichte des alten Orients* (Berlin/Stuttgart/Leipzig).  
 Mo = *Moambe* (Tiflis).  
 MSKI = *Masalebi Sak'art'velos da Kavkasiis istoriidan* (Tiflis).  
 NNM = *Numismatic Notes and Monographs* (New York).  
 NTS = *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap* (Oslo).  
 OCa = *Orientalia Christiana* (Rome).  
 OCs = *Oriens christianus* (Leipzig).  
 P = *P'orj* (Tiflis).  
 PG = J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeco-latina*.  
 PO = *Patrologia orientalis*.  
 PSBF = *Pubblicazioni dello Studium biblicum Franciscanum* (Jerusalem).  
 Q = Qauxč'išvili ed. of the *Georgian Annals* [Introd. 23].  
 Qub = S. Qubaneišvili, *Jveli k'art'uli literaturis k'restomaf'ia I* (Tiflis 1946).  
 RA = *Rivista araldica* (Rome).  
 RAss = *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* (Berlin/Leipzig).  
 RE = Pauly, Wissowa, Kroll, *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*.  
 REA = *Revue des études arméniennes* (Paris).  
 REAnc = *Revue des études anciennes* (Bordeaux).  
 RHA = *Revue hittite et asianique* (Paris).  
 RHC(a) = *Recueil des historiens des Croisades: Documents arméniens*.  
 RHR = *Revue de l'histoire des religions* (Paris).  
 RSJB = *Recueil de la Société Jean Bodin* (Paris).  
 S = *Syria* (Paris).  
 SAG = *Studien zur armenischen Geschichte* (Vienna).  
 SBE = *Studia biblica et ecclesiastica* (Oxford).  
 SH = *Sop'er k' Haykakank'* (Venice).  
 SIA = *Studia instituti Anthropos* (Vienna).  
 SM = *Sbornik materialov dlja opisanija mjestnostej i plemen Kavkaza* (Tiflis).  
 SMM = *Sak'art'velos Muzeumis moambe* (Tiflis).  
 SMMn = *Sahak Mesropean matenadaran* (Tiflis).  
 SSKG = *Sbornik sojedenij o kavkazskix gorcaz* (Tiflis).  
 ST = *Studi e testi* (Vatican City).  
 Spiski = *The Russian Empire, The College of Herald's of the Governing Senate, Spiski titulovannyh rodov i licam Rossijskoj imperii* (St Petersburg 1892).

- SZAG = *Studien zur armenischen Geschichte* (Vienna).
- T = *Traditio* (New York).
- TEB = *Traité d'études byzantines* (*Bibliothèque byzantine*) (Paris).
- TRAGF = *Teksty i razyskanija po armjano-gruzinskoj filologii* (St Petersburg).
- TUAL = *Texte und Untersuchungen der altarmenischen Literatur* (Vienna).
- TUM = *Tp'ilisis Universitatis moambe* (Tiflis).
- TUS = *Travaux de l'Université Staline* (Tiflis).
- UMS(h) = *University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series* (New York).
- V = King Vaxtang VI Redaction of the Georgian Annals [Introd. 21-22].
- Vn = *Vostan. Cahiers d'histoire et de civilisation arméniennes* (Paris).
- VDI = *Vestnik drevnej istorii* (Moscow).
- Vo = *Vostok* (Leningrad).
- VV = *Vizantijskij vremennik* / *Βυζαντινὰ Χρονικά* (St Petersburg, later Moscow/Leningrad).
- WNZ = *Wiener numismatisches Zeitschrift* (Vienna).
- WZKM = *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* (Vienna).
- Z = T<sup>e</sup>. Žordania, *K'ronikebi da sxva masala Sak'art'velos istoriisa* (Tiflis).
- ZIV = *Zapiski Instituta vostokovedenija Akademii Nauk SSSR* (Moscow/Leningrad).
- ZMNP = *Žurnal Ministerstva narodnago prosvješčenija* (St Petersburg).
- ZVO = *Zapiski vostočnago otdelenija Imperatorskago Russkago Arxeologičeskago Obščestva* (St Petersburg).

## II. LITERARY SOURCES AND ABBREVIATIONS

### A. CAUCASIAN SOURCES

#### a. Armenian

- Ananias = Ananias of Siracene (Anania Širakac'i), *Geography*, ed. Ašar-hac'oyc' Movsesi Xorenac'woy, Venice 1881. — The brief version: ed. J. Saint-Martin, *Mémoires historiques et géographiques sur l'Arménie* II, Paris 1819 318-377.
- Arab Life of St Gregory, see The Gregorian Cycle.
- Aristaces = Aristaces of Lastivert (Aristakēs Lastivertc'i), *History of Armenia*, ed. Patmuŋiwn Aristakeay vardapeti Lastivertc'woy (LM 6 1912).
- Arm. Agath., see The Gregorian Cycle.
- Artawazd, Abbot of Erašxavork', *Martyrdom of Saint Vahan of Colthene*, ed. Olbk' vasn ėoreac'n ašxarhis Hayoc' ew vkayabanut'wn srboyn Vahanay Gol'f'nac'woy (SH 13 1854).
- Asojik = Stephen Asojik of Tarawn (Step'annōs [Asojik/Asojnik] Tarōnec'i), *Universal History*, ed. S. Malxaseanc', *Step'annosi Tarōnec'woy Asojkan patmuŋiwn tiezarakan* (HT 20 1885).
- Bk. Lett. = *The Book of Letters*, ed. Girk' f'lf'oc', *Malenagrut'wn narxneac'* (SMMn 5 1901).

- Cyriacus = Cyriacus of Ganja (Kirakos Ganjakec'i), *History of Armenia*, ed. *Patmut'iwn Hayoc' arareal Kirakosi vardapeti Ganjakec'woy* (LM 3 1909).
- Eliseus = Eliseus (Elišē), *History of the Vardanians*, ed. *Elišēi patmut'iwn Vardananc'* (LM 11 1913).
- Faustus = Faustus of Buzanda (P'awstos Buzandac'i), *History of Armenia*, ed. *P'awstosi Biwzandac'woy patmut'iwn Hayoc'*, Venice 1933.
- Gk Agath., see The Gregorian Cycle.
- Gk List = Greek List of the Katholikoi and Rulers of Armenia, *apud Narratio*.
- The Gregorian Cycle — I Recension: The Agathangelus. A. Arm. Agath. = The Armenian Agathangelus, ed. *Agathangelay patmut'iwn Hayoc'* (LM 15 1914). — B. Gk Agath. = The Greek Agathangelus, ed. V. Langlois, in CHAMA 1 (1867) 109-193. — II Recension: The Life of Saint Gregory. A. Gk Life of St Gregory = The Greek Life of Saint Gregory, ed. G. Garitte, *Πράξεις καὶ μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἐνδόξου ἱερομάρτυρος Γρηγορίου τῆς Μεγάλης Ἀρμενίας*, in *Documents pour l'étude du livre d'Agathange* (ST 127 1946). — B. Arab. Life of Saint Gregory = The Arabic Life of Saint Gregory, ed. N. Marr, *Kreščenie Armjan Gruzin, Abxazov i Alanov svjatym Grigoriem* (ZVO 16 1905) 63-211.
- Gregory of Akner = Gregory of Akner (Grigor Aknerc'i), *History of the Nation of the Archers*, ed. R. P. Blake and R. N. Frye, *History of the Nation of the Archers (the Mongols)*, Cambridge [Massachusetts] 1954.
- John Kath. = John VI of Drasxanakert (Yovhannēs Drasxanakertec'i), Katholikos of Armenia, *History of Armenia*, ed. *Yovhannu kat'olikosi Drasxanakertec'woy patmut'iwn Hayoc'* (LM 5 1912).
- Ps. John Mamikonean = Pseudo-John Mamikonean, *History of Tarawn*, ed. *Yovhannu Mamikoneni episkoposi patmut'iwn Tarōnoy*, Venice 1889.
- Koriwn = Koriwn, *Life of Saint Maštoc'*, ed. N. Akinean, *Koriwn, Vark' S. Maštoc'i* (TUAL 1/1 1952).
- Lazarus = Lazarus of P'arpi (Lazar P'arpec'i), *History of Armenia*, ed. *Lazaray P'arpec'woy patmut'iwn Hayoc'* (LM 2 1907).
- Leontius = Leontius (Lewond) the Priest, *History of Armenia*, ed. I. Ezeanc', *Patmut'iwn Lewondeay meci vardapeti Hayoc'*, St Petersburg 1887.
- Matt. Edess. = Matthew of Edessa (Matt'ēos Uḡhayec'i), *Chronicle (Žamankagrut'iwn)*, ed. *Patmut'iwn Matt'eosi Uḡhayec'woy*, Jerusalem 1869.
- Moses Kał. = Moses of Kałankaytuk' or of Dasxurēn (Movsēs Kałankatuac'i or Dasxuranc'i), *History of Albania*, ed. M. Ēmin, *Movsēsi Kałankatuac'woy patmut'iwn Ałuanic' ašzarhi* (LM 8 1912).
- Ps. Moses = Pseudo-Moses of Chorene (Movsēs Xorenac'i), *History of Armenia*, ed. *Srboy hōrn meroy Movsēsi Xorenac'woy patmut'iwn Hayoc'* (LM 10 1913).
- Mxit'ar Goš, Code (*Daslanagirk' Hayoc' mecač'*), ed. V. Bastameanc', *Vaḡaršapat* 1880.
- Narratio = *Narratio de rebus Armeniae (Διήγησις)*, ed. G. Garitte, *La*

- Narratio de rebus Armeniae. Édition critique et commentaire* (CSGO 132, Subsidia 4 1952).
- Prim. Hist. Arm.** = *Primary History of Armenia*, apud Sebēos.
- Sebēos** = Sebēos, *History of Heraclius*, ed. Patmuf'iwn Sebēosi episkoposi i Herakln (LM 7 1913).
- Smbat of Babarop, High Constable of Armenia**, Code, ed. J. Karst, *Sempadscher Kodex... oder mittelarmerinisches Rechtsbuch*, Strasbourg 1905-1906.
- Stephen Orbellian** = Stephen Orbellian (Step'annos Ōrbēlean), *History of Siunia*, ed. K. Šahnazarean, *Patmuf'iwn nahangin Sisakan arareal Step'annosi Ōrbēlean ark'episkoposi Siwneac'*, Paris 1859.
- Thomas** = Thomas (T'ovma) Arcruni, *History of the House of Arcruni*, ed. T'ovmay vardapeti Arcrunioy patmuf'iwn tann Arcruney, Tiflis 1917. — Its latter part is Thomas Contin. = Thomas Continuatus.
- Thomas Contin., Ps. Uxtanēs** see Thomas.
- = Pseudo-Uxtanēs, *History of the Ibero-Armenian Schism (Patmuf'iwn bažanman Vraē ew Hayoc')*, Vałaršapat 1871.
- Vardan** = Vardan, *Universal History*, ed. Hawak'umn patmuf'ean Vardanay vardapeti lusabaneal, Venice 1862.
- Ps. Vardan, Georg.** = *Geography* attributes to Vardan, ed. J. Saint-Martin, *Mémoires historiques et géographiques sur l'Arménie* II, Paris 1819, 406-453.
- Ps. Zenobius** = Pseudo-Zenobius (Zenob) of Glak, *History of Tarawn*, ed. Patmuf'iwn Tarōnoy zor torgmaneay Zenob Asori, Venice 1889.

## [Available to the Author in Translation]

- Samuel of Ani** = Samuel of Ani, or The Priest (Anec'i or Erēc'; end of the twelfth century), *Chronique*, transl. M. F. Brosset, CHA II (1876) 340-483.
- Zacharias the Deacon, Cart.** = Zacharias the Deacon (Zak'aria Sarkavag; 1626-1699), *Cartulaire de Ioannou-Vank*, transl. M. F. Brosset, CHA II (1876) 155-189.
- Zacharias the Deacon, Sofis** = Zacharias the Deacon, *Mémoires historiques sur les Sofis*, transl. M. F. Brosset, CHA II (1876) 1-151.

## b. Georgian

- Basil** = Basil, Master of the Court (Basili, Ezos-Mojguari), *History of Queen Tamar (C'xovreba mep'el' mep'el'a T'amarisi)*, ed. Q II 115-150.
- Basil of Zarma, Chron. Iber.** = *Life of Saint Serapion of Zarzma*, ed. Qub 86-96.
- Conv. Iber.** = *Chronicle of Iberia (Matiane K'art'liša)*, ed. Q I 249-317.
- = Gregory the Deacon (Grigol Diakonī), *The Conversion of Iberia (Mok'c'eva K'art'liša)*, ed. E. T'aqaišvili, in SM 41 (1910) 50-59 = ed. N. Marr and M. Brière, *La langue géorgienne*, Paris 1931, 511-514.
- Divan** = Bagrat III, King of Georgia, *Divan of the Kings (Divani mep'el'a)*, ed. E. T'aqaišvili, in AG 2/3 (1911-1913) 28-54.

- George Hagior. = George the Hagiorite (Giorgi Mt'acmindeli), *Life of Saints John and Euthymius*, ed. I. Javaxišvili and A. Šanije, Tiflis 1946.
- Hist. David III = Arsenius the Monk, *History of King David III (II) (C'xovreba mep'el' mep'isa Davit'isi)*, ed. Q I 318-364.
- Hist. Eul. Sov. = First Historian of Tamar, *Histories and Eulogies of the Sovereigns (Istoriani da azmani šaravandedt'ani)*, ed. Q II 1-114.
- Hist. Five Reigns = Historian of George IV, *History of the Five Reigns*, ed. Q I 365-369.
- HVG, see Juanšer.
- Juanšer = Juanšer Juanšeriani, *History of King Vaxtang Gorgasal (C'xovreba Vaxtang Gorgaslisa)*, ed. Q I 138-244. — Its first part = HVG.
- Leont. Mrov. = Leontius Bishop of Ruisi (Leonti Mroveli), *History of the Kings of Iberia (C'xovreba k'art'uef'a mep'el'a)*, ed. Q I 3-138.
- Mart. Abo = John, son of Saban (Ioane Sabanisje), *Martyrdom of Saint Abo (Martwlobay Haboysi)*, ed. Qub 54-71.
- Mart. Arč'il = *Martyrdom of Saint Arč'il (Cameba emidisa da didebulisa mo-camisa Arč'ilisi)*, ed. Q I 245-248.
- Mart. Eust. = *Martyrdom of Saint Eustace of Mc'xe'f'a (Martwlobay Eustat'i mc'xe'felisay)*, ed. Qub 44-54.
- Martyrdom of the Nine Infants of Kola*, ed. N. Marr, *Mučeničestvo olrokov Kolažeev* (TRAGF 5 1903).
- Mart. Susan = James the Priest of C'urtavi (Iakob C'urtaveli), *Martyrdom of Saint Susan (Martwlobay Šušanikisi)*, ed. Qub 34-44.
- Merč'ule = George (Giorgi) Merč'ule, *Life of Saint Gregory of Xanji'a (Šromay da mo'guacebay... Grigolisi ark'imandritisay Xanji'isa...)*, ed. N. Marr, *Georgij Merčul: Žitie sv. Grigorija Xandztijskago* (TRAGF 7 1911).
- Mesch. Chron. = Meschian Chronographer (Žamt'aagmcereli). *History of the Mongol Invasions*, ed. Q II 151-325.
- Prim. Hist. Iber. = *Primary History of Iberia*, ed. E. T'aqaišvili, in SM 41 (1910) 48-49 = ed. N. Marr and M. Brière, *La langue géorgienne*, Paris 1931 569-570.
- Roy. List = *Royal List I, II, III*, ed. E. T'aqaišvili, in SM 41 (1910) 49-50, 59-66, 66-67.
- Sumbat = Sumbat, son of David (Davit'isje), *History of the Bagratids (C'xovreba da ucqeba Bagratonian'f'a)*, ed. M 336-361.
- Vit. Nin. = *Life of Saint Nino*, ed. E. T'aqaišvili, in SM 41 (1910) 67-96; — 42 (1912) 1-57.

## B. NON-CAUCASIAN SOURCES

- Acts = The Acts of the Apostles.
- Aelius Spartianus, *Vita Hadriani (Scriptores historiae augustae)*, ed. LCL.
- Aeneas Sylvius, *Ep.* = Aeneas Sylvius (Pius II, Pope), *Epistolarum liber I*, Basel 1571.
- Aeschylus, *Prom. vinct.* = Aeschylus, *Prometheus vinctus*, ed. LCL.

- Aeschylus, *Sept. con Theb.*  
 Agathias  
 Amm. Marcell.  
 Anastasius Apocr.  
  
 Anastasius the Librarian  
  
 Anonym. *Peripl.* [Lond.]  
  
 Apollodorus, *Bibl.*  
 Apollodorus, *Perieg.*  
 Apollonius Rhod., *Arg.*  
  
 Appian, *Mithr.*  
 Appian, *Syr.*  
 Arrian, *Anab.*  
 Arrian, *Peripl.*  
  
 Arrian, *Succ. Alex.*  
 Cassius Dio  
  
 Cedrenus  
  
 Chron. pasch.  
 Cicero, *Ep. ad fam.*  
 Cod. Just.  
  
 Cod. Theod.  
  
 Const. Porphy., *De adm. imp.*  
  
 Const. Porphy., *De cerim.*  
  
 I Cor.  
 Ctesias, *Pers.*  
 Curtius  
  
 Demosthenes, *Orat.*  
 Dio Chrys.  
 Diodorus  
 Ephorus  
 Esther.  
 Eusebius, *Praep. evang.*  
 Eusebius, *Chron.*  
 Ezech.  
 Gal.
- = Aeschylus, *Septem contra Thebas*, ed. LCL.  
 = Agathias, *Historiae*, ed. PG 88.  
 = Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res gestae*, ed. LCL.  
 = Anastasius the Priest and Apocrisiarius of Rome, *Epistola ad Theodosium presbyterum Gangrensem*, ed. PG 90 171-194.  
 = Anastasius Bibliothecarius, *Historia ecclesiastica ... ex Theophane contracta*, ed. PG 108 1205-1428.  
 = Pseudo-Arrian, *Periplus Ponti Euxini* (Codex Londiniensis), ed. A. Baschmakoff [*Synthèse*], EESE 2 128-141.  
 = Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, ed. FHG I 104-179.  
 = Apollodorus, *Periegesis*, ed. FHG I 449-453.  
 = Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argonautica*, ed. R. Merkel, CPEG 4 (1852).  
 = Appian, *Romanae historiae: Mithridatica*, ed. LCL.  
 = Appian, *Romanae historiae: Syriaca*, ed. LCL.  
 = Arrian, [*Anabasis*] *De expeditione Alexandri*, ed. LCL.  
 = Arrian, *Periplus Ponti Euxini*, ed. A. Baschmakoff [*Synthèse*], EESE 3 80-107.  
 = Arrian, *De rebus successorum Alexandri*, ed. LCL.  
 = Cassius Dio Cocceianus, *Historiae romanae*, ed. V. P. Boissvain, Berlin 1955.  
 = George Cedrenus, *Historiarum compendium*, ed. CSHB (1838).  
 = *Chronicon paschale*, ed. PG 92.  
 = M. Tullius Cicero, *Epistolae ad familiares*, ed. LCL.  
 = *Corpus juris civilis: Codex Justinianus*, ed. P. Krueger, II, 9th ed., Berlin 1915.  
 = *Codex Theodosianus*, ed. T. Mommsen and P. Meyer, *Theodosiani libri XVI*, Berlin 1905.  
 = Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, Eastern Emperor, *De administrando imperio*, ed. Gy. Moravcsik, MGT 29 (1949).  
 = Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, Eastern Emperor, *De ceremoniis aulae byzantinae*, ed. PG 112.  
 = I Corinthians.  
 = Ctesias, *De rebus persicis*, ed. C. Müller, Paris 1887.  
 = Quintus Curtius Rufus, *De rebus gestis Alexandri Magni*, ed. LCL.  
 = Demosthenes, *Orationes*, ed. LCL.  
 = Dio Cocceianus Chrysostomus, *Orationes*, ed. LCL.  
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 = Ephorus, *Fragmenta*, ed. FHG I 234-277.  
 = Eusebius Pamphili, *Praeparatio evangelica*, ed. PG 21.  
 = Eusebius Pamphili, *Chronicorum libri duo*, ed. PG 19.  
 = Ezechiel.  
 = Galatians.



- Gen. = Genesis.
- George the Monk, *Chronicon*, ed. C. de Boor, Leipzig 1904.
- Hecataeus = Hecataeus, *Fragmenta*, ed. FHG I 1-31.
- Hellanicus = Hellanicus, *Fragmenta*, ed. FHG I 45-69.
- Herodotus = Herodotus, *Historiae*, ed. C. Müller, Paris 1887.
- Hippolytus of Rome, *Chronica*, ed. A. Bauer and R. Helm, GCS 36 (1929).
- Isai. = Isaias.
- John of Ant. = Johannes Antiochenus, *Fragmenta*, ed. FHG IV 535-622.
- John of Ephesus, *Eccl. Hist.* = John of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. CSCO (Scriptores syri).
- John of Ephesus, *Saints* = John of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, ed. PO 17-19.
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- Josephus, *Ant.* = Flavius Josephus, *Antiquitates judaicae*, ed. B. Niese, Berlin 1855.
- Josephus, *Bell. jud.* = Flavius Josephus, *Bellum judaicum*, ed. B. Niese, Berlin 1855.
- Josephus, *Con. Apion.* = Flavius Josephus, *Contra Apionem*, ed. B. Niese, Berlin 1855.
- Ps. Josue the Stylites = Ps. Josue the Stylites, *Chronicle*, ed. W. Wright, Cambridge 1882.
- Julius Capitolinus, *Vita Pii (Scriptores historiae augustae)*, ed. LCL.
- Justinian I, Emperor, *Corpus juris civilis: Novellae*, ed. R. Schöll and G. Kroll, III, 4th ed. Berlin 1912.
- 4 Kings.
- Luke.
- 2 Mac. = 2 Machabees.
- Malalas = Johannes Malalas, *Chronographia*, ed. CSHB (1831)
- Mark.
- Matt. = Matthew.
- Memnon = Memnon, *Fragmenta*, ed. FHG III 525-558.
- Menander = Menander Protector, *Fragmenta*, ed. FHG IV 200-269.
- Odys.* = *Odyssee*, ed. LCL.
- 1 Par. = 1 Paralipomenon.
- 2 Par. = 2 Paralipomenon.
- Peter the Patrician = Petrus Patricius, *Fragmenta*, ed. FHG IV 181-191.
- Philothheus, *Clet.* = Philothheus, *Cletorologion (apud Const. Porphy. De cerim.)*.
- Plato, *Resp.* = Plato, *Respublica*, ed. LCL.
- Pliny = C. Plinius Secundus, *Naturalis historia*, ed. LCL.
- Plutarch, *Antonius*, ed. LCL.
- Plutarch, *Artaxerxes*, ed. LCL.
- Plutarch, *Crassus*, ed. LCL.
- Plutarch, *Eumenes*, ed. LCL.
- Plutarch, *Lucullus*, ed. LCL.
- Plutarch, *Pompeius*, ed. LCL.
- Polyaenus = Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, ed. E. Woelfflin and J. Melber, Leipzig 1887.

- Polybius = Polybius, *Historiae*, ed. LCL.
- Priscus = Priscus Panita, *Fragmenta*, ed. FHG IV 69-110.
- Procopius, *De aed.* = Procopius of Caesarea, *De aedificiis*, ed. LCL.
- Procopius, *Bell. goth.* = Procopius of Caesarea, *Bellum gothicum*, ed. LCL.
- Procopius, *Bell. pers.* = Procopius of Caesarea, *Bellum persicum*, [ed. LCL.
- Procopius, *Bell. vand.* = Procopius of Caesarea, *Bellum vandalicum*, ed. LCL.
- Ptolemy = Claudius Ptolemaeus, *Geographia*, ed. C. Müller, Paris 1905.
- Russ. Prim. Chron.* = (*Russian Primary Chronicle*) *Povjest' Vremennyx Ljet*, ed. D. Lixačev, Moscow/Leningrad 1950.
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- G. Jul. Solinus = G. Julius Solinus, *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*, ed. I. Burnouf, Turin 1827.
- Steph. Byz. = Stephanus Byzantinus, *Ethnica*, ed. W. Dindorf, Leipzig 1825.
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- Theodosius and Theodore of Gangra, *Hypomnest.* = Theodosius and Theodore, Priests of Gangra, *Scholium, sive Hypomnesticum*, ed. PG 90 194-202.
- Theophanes, *Chron.* = Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. PG 108.
- Theoph. Byz. = Theophanes Byzantinus, *Fragmenta*, ed. FHG IV 270-271.
- Theophylactus = Theophylactus Simocatta, *Historiae*, ed. C. de Boor, Leipzig 1887.
- Theopompus = Theopompus, *Fragmenta*, ed. FHG I 278-333.
- Trogus Pomp. = Cn. Pompeius Trogus, *Historiae Philippicae, apud [Prologi]* M. Junianus Justinus, ed. O. Seel, Leipzig 1935.
- Valerius Maximus = Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, ed. C. Kempf, Leipzig 1888.
- Vita S. Danielis Stylitis*, ed. H. Delehaye, AB 32 (1913).
- Wadding, *Ann. Min.* = Lucas Waddingus, *Annales Minorum XIII*, Rome 1735.
- Xenophon, *Anab.* = Xenophon, *Anabasis*, ed. LCL.
- Xenophon, *Cyrop.* = Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, ed. LCL.
- Ya'qūbī = Ya'qūbī (Ibn Wāqīh), *Historiae*, ed. M. Th. Houtsma, 2 vols., Leiden 1883.

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